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RESOLUTIONS AND MEMORIAL

ADOPTED BY THE SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION.

At a session of the Southern Republican Association, held at their rooms, at 226 F street, Washington, D. C., on the 8th of December, 1866, the following Resolutions and Memorial were adopted as the sense of this Association:

Whereas, in the war carried on against the United States by the States of Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, and Florida, the said States were subjugated, compelled to lay down their arms, and submit to the power of the nation,

1. Resolved, That the governments of those States, framed in a spirit hostile to the nation and repugnant to its Constitution, were overthrown by the result of the rebellion, and ceased to exist.

2. Resolved, That at the moment of the surrender of said States, no form of government having been provided for them by Congress, their population passed under the authority of the President only in his character of Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States.

3. Resolved, That, in his military control of the inhabitants of said States, the Commander-in-Chief had no other right or lawful power than to hold them in control and maintain order until the will of Congress could be made known.

4. Resolved, That, in calling together bodies of men in said States for the purpose of framing constitutions of civil government, the Commander-in-Chief has transcended his powers as an executive magistrate, and that the governments thus instituted, are not valid in law.

5. Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to set aside the governments brought into being by this unlawful exercise of power by the Commander-in-Chief, and to institute new governments, founded on republican principles and calculated to protect, in life, liberty, and all natural rights, the inhabitants of said States, and to restrain and punish such as are evil-disposed and enemies of the government.

6. Resolved, That among the principles on which the new State governments should be based, we respectfully urge upon the Congress to adopt the following, to wit: Admission to the right of suffrage and eligibility to office of all loyal citizens of the United States, of whatever race or color they may be. Exclusion, until relieved by Congress, from the right of suffrage, and from all offices of honor, trust, or profit, whether under the government of the United States or any territorial, State, municipal, or other authority whatever, of all persons who held office under the Confederate government, or any State or power or authority proclaimed, heretofore, by Congress or the Executive, in insurrection against the United States; whether said office was military or civil, or of whatever nature it may have been; and also of all persons who voted for the ordinance of secession, or who adhered to the rebellion and gave it aid and comfort.

7. Resolved, That this association do recommend to Congress, either to provide measures and means for the immediate call, in each State, of a convention to frame a State constitution; or to institute in each State a preliminary establishment, analogous to a territorial government.

MEMORIAL.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.

Humbly complaining to your honorable bodies, your memorialists, on behalf of the members of the organization, known as "Southern Republican Association," respectfully present the accompanying resolutions, and ask that they may be given careful consideration, and action adopted in accordance with them. Your memorialists will candidly confess that they do not claim to represent the sentiments of a majority of those who have hitherto been entitled to vote at the elections in what are known as the non-reconstructed States; but they do claim to speak in the name and behalf of those who stood by the national cause through the darkest days of the rebellion, and of those who still regard the preservation of the Union as of paramount importance.

Our views can best be expressed by a brief narrative of facts. For thirty years prior to 1860, there was, in the Southern States, a constantly increasing and growing party, known, indifferently, as Nullifiers, States Rights men, Disunionists and Secessionists. They held the doctrine that the United States was not a nation, a government nor a Union, but a compact, an agency, or mere association of independent sovereign States; that there were no national citizens or people; but that paramount allegiance was due to the States; that, as through the agency of conventions the Union had been formed, so through the same forms it might be dissolved. These pernicious doctrines, tending to anarchy and the destruction of social order, assumed threatening forms in the Nullification movements of 1831-2; upon the slavery issue of 1850; the Territorial and African slave trade issue of a later period; and finally culminated in the treasonable conspiracy of 1860. We fully appreciate the value of the maxim, that error of opinion may be tolerated while reason is left free to combat it. But when the question of the perpetuation of human slavery became the all-engrossing error of the day, reason was not left free to combat the most revolting dogmas, even though they threatened the life of the nation, if the political creed was propagated in the name of slavery. Liberty of speech and of the press were no longer tolerated; the mails were closed against interdicted documents, and every constitutional guaranty in favor of liberty was disregarded. Those whose teachings all tended to disunion, and who scarcely concealed their purpose, adroitly managed to get the entire control of the State governments, to send few but extreme men to Congress, and, through Cabinet officers, selected from the same school, to fill almost every Federal office in the South with men, who, at heart, had no regard for their constitutional oaths, and who did not recognize the Constitution which they were sworn to support, as the supreme law of the land. The possession of almost every office, State and Federal, by men who held that the States had the clear right to secede, and that the majority of each State might constitutionally determine for itself the occasion, produced the natural and logical result. While such indoctrinators could, as party leaders, control the Federal and State power and patronage, and arrogantly crush every form of opposition, they would allow the Union to endure. Deprived of this control, their revolutionary doctrine of secession was forever ready to be invoked. The occasion for dissolution was anxiously sought, and it was found in the result of the presidential election of 1860. The presence of so great a number of Senators and Representatives, with a preponderance of Cabinet officers, who controlled a weak administration, and the possession of the great body of legislative, executive and judicial officers in the States, rendered the inauguration of a war to resist the National authority an easy task, and a work which the people could not themselves resist. Had the people organized resistance, the magistrates who seized upon the forts, arsenals and arms of the Union, and controlled the militia, would have treated them as insurrectionists; and the President stood ready to recognize the State authorities, even when preparing for war against the Union, as the only men to be heard.

It ought naturally to be inferred that events so fresh in memory, which led to consequences so deplorable, would not be again so soon tolerated. And yet we declare to-day that the nation is standing upon the same precipice, threatened with the same dangers, from the same men, holding the same principles and offices, and defiantly indulging in the same evil practices, relying again for support upon the Federal administration

The secession movement of 1860, the ordinances which claimed to sever the Union, the formation of the compact called the Confederate States, the inauguration of a war against the National government, were all accomplished because in those sections there were few State magistrates to oppose, and because the Federal administration and controlling power of Congress recognized the State governments, even when inaugurating open opposition to the National authority and commencing an incipient war, as the only lawful representatives of the States.

The war came. Its division lines were marked by the boundaries which separated slavery from freedom. But the rebellion had friends and supporters in the free States; and it had enemies, not a few, in the slave States. The sympathizers with the Union cause were more numerous in the States bordering upon freedom. The supporters of the rebellion were made to appear almost unanimous in the States farthest removed from freedom. But we assert that there were always, in every State, a large element who were opposed to the secession movement, and who were soon made to feel and comprehend that the war to perpetuate negro slavery also meant a war to destroy the liberties of the white men, by conscription, impressment, military rule, the suppression of every manly sentiment, and the undisguised purpose to establish an unmitigated despotism. This opposition to the most revolting rebellion led many a patriot, as the muster-rolls show, to take arms as Union soldiers. They staked all upon the fortunes of war.

If the national arms succeeded, these patriotic soldiers fully expected relief for themselves, their friends and sympathizers, whom they generally knew, no matter by what adverse circumstances they were surrounded. If they failed, we all well understood that death, outlawry, and infamy awaited all national sympathizers; if the Union army succeeded, we naturally expected that the nation's enemies would suffer at least the odium of treason, and be deprived of the political power which enabled them to maintain such fearful and oppressive organizations. We declare here, that it required no less moral courage to be suspected of Unionism in the States we represent, than to fight in the most exposed columns of the Union army. Yet there was, all the time, a courageous few, who were known and loved by the nation's friends, and persecuted and despised by the nation's enemies, as friends of the Union and well-wishers and workers for the national cause. And all through the fearful struggle there were four millions of human beings, descendants of the African race, slaves, whom the enemies of the Union had charged for forty years with being always in preparation for insurrection, rapine, and murder, and the ever ready instruments of abolition incendiaries, whose suspected presence served as excuses for lynching, banishment, and hanging. These people were taught that the war was relentlessly waged for their freedom; that the Commander-in-Chief of the nation was trying to incite them to insurrection; that they were to be made masters, and the whites to become serfs, pariahs, and slaves. Yet with a sublime faith and a moral grandeur, these slaves remained quietly at home, the protectors of the women and children, whose rebel husbands and sons were fighing for their perpetual enslavement. No insurrection did they ever attempt; no acts of outrage were laid to their charge; of no privations did they complain. They hailed the Union soldiers as their friends; they instinctively knew the Union men and women among them; to the number of two hundred thousand they rallied around the Union standards as soon as they were allowed to muster under them. No savage violation of the laws of war; no open orders to take no prisoners; no inhuman massacres ever provoked these Christian men to the retaliation so natural to the human heart under provocation. To the God of Justice and of battles and the advancing spirit of the age they confidently trusted for the hour of deliverance.

The end came. The destructive spirit of treason and rebellion madly fought and blindly destroyed and plundered their deluded followers after there was an end of all hope of success. They disregarded all warnings to capitulate, and persucuted, destroyed, and imprisoned all who advised a compromise. Their arms were stricken from their hands, and they surrendered as prisoners of war.

We would gladly pass over the policy which has been so disastrous in its consequences. Under the authority of law, and by the acts of the loyal people, who alone had the right to be heard, loyal organizations had been established in Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana. The civil governments created by the bold Union men of these States were the only authorities recognized by the government of the United States. As the lamented Lincoln left them, so President Johnson, for a time, maintained them. To the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas he gave provisional governments. He enforced the proclamations declaring slavery at an end until the amendment to the Federal Constitution left no vestige of it within the jurisdiction of the United States. An universal pardon to treason, with a few exceptions, singled out for the more marked favor of special warrants, was proclaimed. The elective franchise was conferred only upon that class, the large majority of whom had engaged actively in the rebellion.

This cause has produced its logical results. The same manner of men who controlled the States in the secession movement and during the entire war, who filled every State office, and every magistracy under the new government of their creation, and who led the cohorts of treason and rebellion, now fill almost every State office from Governor to Constable, and they have selected as Senators and Representatives in the Federal Congress, a number of their chiefs and leaders, few of whom can take the oath, which, under a law made for self-preservation, every member of your honorable bodies is obliged to take. The proscription of Union men is as marked and as cruel as at any period during the war. The test-oath law, the civil rights bill, which was rendered necessary by a revolution which gave a new *status* to one-eighth of the population of the United States, and the law for the protection of these people are recklessly disregarded or shamelessly evaded. Freedmen and Union men are murdered with impunity; judicial districts abolished to get rid of loyal magistrates, chosen by the people; the greatest atrocities openly protected wherever they were committed in the name or under the pretence of Confederate authority; conventions of peaceable citizens who had perilled their lives to established a loyal government during the nation's darkest hour, brutally massacred by returned rebel soldiers, directed and led by notorious traitors; a Constitutional Amendment, necessary for the nation's life, openly and defiantly rejected; the constitutional and legal existence of the Congress chosen by the great masses, who, at so vast a cost of blood and treasure, saved the nation from destruction, treasonably denied, and resistance to its laws openly threatened; the people daily taught by a lying rebel press that the most lenient government the world ever saw has not kept faith with traitors; true, loyal, and devoted patriots deprived of business and driven from their homes; the treasonable cause sanctified by monuments, pageantry, pensions, legislative resolves, poetry, literature, and burdens upon an impoverished constituency in favor of rebel heroes.

These, and a thousand other monstrosities, are so notorious that no one denies them. Few of these rebel leaders now profess any devotion to the Union. On the contrary, they openly denounce every movement for its preservation.

What is the remedy for so great an injustice to the faithful friends of the nation, and so palpable a danger to the body politic? As the facts cannot be denied, and the great Law Giver of the universe cannot permit so crying an injustice, the remedy must be found and applied. Moreover, the loyal masses have willed that no single fruit of the hard-earned victory shall be lost. We respectfully submit the propositions of the loyal Union sufferers, whose devotion has been proven, and whose claims cannot be disregarded without peril to the nation, not from us, but from your undisguised enemies and ours, as a basis for decisive action. The remedy is plain and simple. The nation's valor, with the blessings of Heaven has conquered those who voluntarily, willingly and persistently made themselves public enemies, and involved their States in all the consequences of conquered insurgents. If traitors, they forfeited their rights to life, liberty and property; if, as they claim, they were a nation of public enemies, the territories and districts which have been conquered are subject to the law-making power, which alone can decide, accept and legalize war and peace. In every light, therefore, the power exists, and the necessities of the case demand immediate and prompt action.

A long line of precedents both of the United States and of these same rebels as "Confederate States," have established that whatever authority in a State is recognized by the political or law-making power of the nation, is the lawful government, is the State, and there is no appeal from this decision, but by the bayonet. We pray you, then, to set aside these hostile organizations, illegally and unconstitutionally created, and incapable of self-government, because hostile to the nation; and under the nation's power as conservator of the peace, authorize the loyal and true men, regardless of race or color, to organize governments, excluding so many of the unrepentant rebels as shall be found necessary for permanent security and preservation of the Union. In this way, and in no other, we verily believe, those guarantees may be obtained which clearly define and certainly protect the American citizen, equalize representation, give suffrage to loyal voters only, disqualify the traitor for franchise and office, make secure the national debt incurred in the cause of liberty, forever silence the holders of the rebel promises, elevate manhood, reward devotion to the Union, and secure the blessings of liberty to our posterity and to yours.

We plead for these things, not for ourselves and fellow-sufferers only, but for our still bleeding country, from which capital, enterprise, free labor, free speech, the blessings of education, the rapid strides of internal improvements and enlarged progressive views are virtually expelled by ignorance, stupidity, bigotry, treason, and rebellion.

We ask for early, speedy, sharp, short and decisive action; and we ask it in the names and behalf of the millions of devoted friends of the Union, inhabiting the best parts of the continent, no one of whom can claim that he enjoys the blessings of free republican government, or the security which the Constitution of the United States guarantees to the citizen.

Therefore, your memorialists submit herewith the resolutions of our association, and respectfully admonishing Congress of the dangers and increased complications of delay, they pray your honorable bodies for immediate action in accordance with the principles announced. Justice, mercy, and the national security alike demand the remedy.

THOMAS J. DURANT, President.
DANIEL H. BINGHAM, Secretary.

SLAVERY IN MARYLAND.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

We have briefly noticed the startling fact mentioned by our Baltimore correspondent that the slave trade was being carried on in Maryland by the judicial and executive officers of that State, under the pretended authority of the Maryland Code, and in alleged accordance with the National Constitution. Advertisements announcing the sale, for a term of years, in pursuance of the sentence of a Court and the authority of a sheriff, will excite a feeling of something more than surprise in the breasts of hundreds of thousands, who for more than a year have been accustomed to thank God that slavery in America had been constitutionally abolished. They believed that they had lived to see the day so long prayed for, when, in his Westward course over our ocean-girt Republic, the sun no longer rose upon a master nor set upon a slave. But here is a new and hideous vision of auction-blocks in front of Court-Houses, for the sale of slaves and other cattle," with a sheriff as auctioneer, flourishing his judicial record and pointing to the "Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery" as confirming its validity. Even those who in the olden time had so "conquered their prejudices" as to contend that slavery was not a crime, must feel that its unblushing revival at this moment and in this form is, to say the least, a blunder.

The responsibility for the existence of this anomaly, which tends to make us contemptible in the eyes of the world and despicable in our own, rests primarily with the Congress which, in proceeding to amend the Constitution for the abolition of slavery, and intending that abolition to be total and final, neglected to use words that indicated their intention. Earnest suggestions to this effect were met by the reply that it would be more historically interesting, and would exhibit a more continuous and uniform legislation to adopt and incorporate into the Constitution the identical prohibition of slavery framed by the Fathers of the Republic and embodied in the ordinance that secured freedom to our great North-west. To the indulgence of this sentiment, which we thought then, and which we still think, partook rather of idle pedantry than of sound statesmanship, is the country indebted for the fact that American slavery and the slave trade are carried on to-day under the shelter of that Amendment. An absolute prohibition of slavery, without exception, would have passed Congress and would have been ratified by the people of the States as readily and as certainly as the one which was adopted; and yet in its place we have the following article, authorizing and justifying slavery in a class of cases which, if left to the decision of the rebel States, may be enlarged and extended until slavery is made once more their peculiar institution: "Art. XIII., sec. 1.—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, *except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted*, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Until some new amendment shall abolish this exception, servitude for crime will be permissible under the National Constitution; but what we have to do, and what we can do, is to see that it is inflicted as a punishment only for crime and not for color. This subject may properly engage the attention of Congress under the second section of the Amendment, empowering them to enforce the article by appropriate legislation. But the true remedy for this and other abuses to which the blacks are subjected by State legislation inspired by slavery, is in exposition by the Supreme Court of the United States of the true meaning and effect of the Constitutional Amendment, in giving to the Republic a National policy of equal freedom and equal justice.

The allowance by the Amendment of slavery as a punishment for crime may seem to militate against this view, but it should be remembered that, by the first article of the Constitution, apportioning representatives and direct taxes, "persons bound to service for a term of years" were expressly included among the number of free persons," and that it was not uncommon for the German and other "redemptioners," as they were called, thus to bind themselves to a sort of slavery, so far as labor and obedience were concerned, although it was entirely free from those features of chattelism which gave to Southern slavery its peculiar horrors. The question how far the Amendment abolishing slavery has changed the National policy, as hitherto deduced from slavery under the old Constitution by pro-slavery judges, is one which has not as yet engaged the attention of our National Judiciary. The provision of the Maryland Code under which, for the same crime, white men and women are sent to the Penitentiary and black men and women are sold into slavery, affords an excellent opportunity for an elaborate argument and final decision on the right of the States thus to discriminate between American citizens, and to establish, in a Republic where all men are born free and equal, aristocratic and class distinctions. The subject was recently alluded to in an address to the Union League Club of New York by its President, and the opinion was intimated that the Amendment had rendered of questionable validity some of our antiquated State laws, both at the North and the South, that imposed disabilities and penalties not for crime but for race and complexion.

"A class of judicial questions," said Mr. Jay, "growing out of slavery and its incidents, which had been finally settled, as was supposed, under the Constitution as it was, would seem to be disturbed if not reopened by the Constitutional Amendment, that has substituted freedom for slavery as the premise of the argument by which their validity was formerly established. It may possibly be that the identical course of inductive reasoning, which, starting from the view of the late Chief-Justice that the framers of the Constitution of 1789 regarded the blacks as having no rights whatsoever, served to establish upon that basis, by the severest logic, the right of the States to disfranchise, outlaw, degrade, and insult what Mr. Taney called the 'slave races,' a class thus uncared for and unprotected by the Constitution, may lead to a different conclusion, when the judges commence with the new fact, that the American people in their sovereign capacity have constituted, ordained, and established that the members of the race thus disfranchised shall be equally entitled with themselves to the inalienable rights of American citizens."

The effect of such a decision on the suffrage question which now agitates the country, was in a subsequent part of the address thus described: "Should the Supreme Court, upon a thorough review of the national policy as affected by the Amendment, reach the conclusion that the National Constitution as amended no longer permits the States to establish inequality, by the outlawry or disfranchisement of a class, the difficulties heretofore anticipated from an interference by Congress with the supposed rights of the States to disfranchise at their pleasure will be avoided. The decision will affect North and South alike, and the question of suffrage on an equal basis will be opened for readjustment in all the States, with such conditions as regards residence, intelligence, and taxation of property, as each State may severally prescribe."

If upon the first suggestion there should be any difference of opinion on these points, we think there should be none in regard to the unconstitutionality of the law of Maryland, creating class distinctions where none are to be found in the Constitution. If Maryland has the right to punish American citizens for their race or their complexion, why not for their religious creed, or their political opinions? We trust that no time will be lost in issuing writs of habeas corpus, whenever there may be occasion for that old safeguard of personal liberty, and in submitting the question in its national length and breadth to the judgment of our Supreme Tribunal.

LICENSE TO MURDER.

The President, by an order dated Dec. 22, has dissolved the Military Commission, held at Richmond, for the trial of Dr. James L. Watson. The prisoner, who recently murdered a negro in Rockbridge county, Va., has therefore been discharged from custody, and is secured from any punishment. The facts in this case deserve to be universally known.

A few weeks ago a negro named Echols drove violently against a carriage in which the family of Dr. Watson were riding, breaking it, but injuring no one. The next day Watson went in search of him, found him at work in a field, and attempted to beat him. Echols resisted and ran, pursued by Watson, who threatened to shoot him unless he stopped. Echols preferred flight to a struggle, and Watson drew a pistol and shot him through the body. He died in a few hours. The murderer then surrendered himself, and his trial in the county court resulted in entire acquittal. Gen. Schofield, before whom these facts were brought, issued an order, under authority of the Act of Congress of July 16, 1866, for a military commission in Richmond, and on the 19th inst. Watson was brought before it. His conviction, had not the President interfered, was certain, for he confessed that he had committed the crime.

Mr. Johnson, in dissolving the commission, chose to accept the recent decision of the Supreme Court, that military trial of civilians in the loyal States is illegal, as his authority. His Cabinet, it is said, agree with him. This interpretation will surprise no one, though it would have been better had a test case been submitted to the Supreme Court from the rebel States. We are not yet prepared to admit that Virginia and Indiana stand in equal relations to the government. But any argument is superseded by the fact that the President's action has taken from the freedmen their last hope of protection, from their oppressors the last fear of punishment. Watson killed this negro brutally. It was a murder without a show of justification, and freely admitted and boasted of as an act of courage. Yet the civil authorities of Virginia acquitted him of any crime, and virtually excluded the wanton killing of a negro from the category of murder. He may kill another to-morrow, and there is no power that will punish the act. This is not an exceptional case; in Georgia, 300 freedmen have been killed since Christmas, 1865, and but three of their murderers have been punished by the civil courts. Our correspondent at Savannah writes, under date of Dec. 19: "It would be just as easy to get a jury in the State of New York to convict a person of manslaughter for shooting a mad dog, as to get a jury of rebels to find a rebel guilty upon a charge of killing a negro." Sweeping as this assertion may be, the escape of Watson is an instance of its truth, as the New Orleans massacre, the acquittal of Perrin in Columbus county, Georgia, of the murder of Henry Thomas, and hundreds of other cases, are proofs. The civil courts in the rebel States positively refuse to try such cases; where the fear of military interference has induced them to parade the form of duty, the jury has acquitted the prisoner without the pretence of deliberation. No more need be said; we may simply add that the construction which President Johnson puts upon the decision of the Supreme Court, whether it be right or wrong, has left the freedmen without a particle of legal protection. The whole subject must come before Congress, which will not, we may hope, neglect its duty of immediate action.—*Tribune.*

CONGRESS AND THE SOUTHERN STATES.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

It is strange the Southern men do not see that to reject the amendment is to subject themselves to harder terms. Already several plans of reconstruction are broached in Congress, any one of which is more distasteful to the Southern leaders than the amendment. A well-informed correspondent writes us from Washington: "There can be no doubt that the opportunity for the adoption by the excluded States of the terms offered in the Constitutional Amendment is rapidly passing away." Congress will not wait very long. As soon as it is satisfied that the Southern States will not have the amendment, it will proceed to other measures.

It is useless to argue against such a course; the people in the recent elections have demanded and justified it. It is of no use to show that the whole proceeding is extra-constitutional—for the people reply that defiant and unpunished traitors shall not take advantage of constitutional forms to gain unfair advantages; they will not have such a condition of things as makes a vote in the South represent twice as much as a vote in the North; they will in some way exclude from power the leaders and originators of the rebellion. If it is said the measures necessary to obtain such legislation are extra-constitutional, and to that extent revolutionary, the people reply: We accept the risk. Justice is to be done, safety secured, and treason punished, at all hazards.

Of the measures proposed in Congress, we hear that the bill to re-establish civil government in North Carolina, introduced the other day by Mr. Stevens, is likely, with some amendments, to be adopted by Congress. Mr. Stevens is not the author of this bill—it was prepared by Gov. Holden and some other North Carolinians. So far as it asserts the power of Congress, rather than the President, to re-establish the State governments overturned by the rebellion, it is in strict accord with the Constitution, and with the will of the people as expressed in the late elections. The United States are to guaranty to every State a republican form of government; and Congress represents and acts for the United States. In the present case it is assumed that the State governments which the President has permitted to grow up, are not valid; and in the case of North Carolina, which has just rejected the amended State Constitution, it would seem that the State government falls even under Mr. Johnson's ban—for the conditions which he declared to be necessary precedents to reconstruction have been rejected.

Congress, by this bill, therefore, interferes, orders an election for a Constitutional Convention, and requires the work of that Convention to be submitted to it for examination. But in ordering an election, Congress declares who are to vote; and here the bill presented by Mr. Stevens seems to us to make a dangerous blunder. It decrees that only those shall vote who can read and write, or who own real estate of the assessed value of one hundred dollars. Now, if Congress may decide who shall vote, in the reorganization of an overthrown State government, it may decree general as well as partial suffrage; and we trust it will not commit the blunder and wrong of excluding any class from the polls. On this question the *Evening Post* laid down, so long ago as May 2d, 1866, the following, which we still believe to be the only true, just and safe ground:

"The members of these conventions should be chosen openly, fairly, without intimidation, either by the mob on one side or the military force on the other, by all the male inhabitants of requisite age, without distinction of class or color, and the amended constitutions should be submitted to the vote, for adoption or rejection, of the same entire constituency."

Mr. William Beach Lawrence, an eminent publicist, well known for the conservative nature of his opinions, in a letter which we published on the 7th of June, 1865, took the same ground. As to the expediency of universal suffrage as a means, and the only means, of protecting the colored people in their commonest rights, Mr. Lawrence wrote:

"We are called on now to solve the problem how two distinct races can coexist in the same country without the individuals of the one being subject to the will of the other. * * * It is only by sharing in the right of electing their rulers that those avenues to knowledge by which their moral and intellectual standard is to be elevated, can be secured. It is the only way in which they can be protected from that exclusion, even from mechanical pursuits, which so long embarrassed the emancipated slaves of the North. Without the franchise it may be doubted whether the partial affranchisement is not a positive injury, instead of a benefit, as they may be entirely at the mercy of a hostile Legislature. Objectionable as were, in many respects, the ancient relations between masters and servants, under ordinary circumstances the latter had in the former, at least against third parties, a protection which can only be supplied by the power of the individual to protect himself as a component member of the community. * * * I well remember, many years since, to have been deeply impressed by a remark made to me at my house in New York by Mr. Phillips, of Salem, then a member of Congress, as to the efficiency of universal suffrage as a protection against lawless outrages."

On the question of *right*—as to who ought to vote in such a reorganization of a State government as is now proposed, Mr. Lawrence had no doubt at all. He wrote:

"But there is another point in connection with this subject, for which I contended when a proposition was made here [in Rhode Island] some years ago for a constitutional convention. I mean the right of every member of the community to participate in the formation of the organic law, *which is the grand principle on which all our institutions rest.* You may place what restrictions you please, not incompatible with the Federal Constitution or the future right of suffrage; but the State Constitution must originate with and be assented to by a majority of all the people, including as well those whom it disfranchises as those whom it invests with the suffrage. Such was the course, you will recollect, as to the *plebiscite*, on which the title of Napoleon III. rests, as well as in the case of the annexation of the several States of Italy to the government of Victor Emmanual. It may also not be uninstructive to notice that the same principle was recognized on two occasions in the State of New York; and the present Constitution as well as the previous one was made by a convention elected by universal suffrage, and without regard to the qualifications required for voting by the then existing Constitutions. The fact, I believe, is the same in reference to the Constitutional Conventions of other States. It seems to me that as to the colored people at the South taking part in the conventions which may be called to form or modify existing Constitutions, the sole question is, Are they citizens of the United States? If so, their vote is perfect."

We trust Congress will not be led to act unjustly in this matter. If the State governments in the South are to be reorganized under congressional supervision, it is the highest duty of Congress to see to it that all the people take part in that important and fundamental act.

MURDER MADE EASY.

From the Brooklyn Union.

Military Courts are not allowed, in Virginia, to have any right to enforce justice toward the negroes or Union men. Civil Courts do not do justice, and therefore justice is not done. A case in point: Dr. Watson whose case we reported some weeks since, shot a negro and killed him, because he would not stand still and be flogged for runing against the Doctor's carriage in a dark night some days previous and hurting no one.

The Doctor was tried by a civil Court and turned out innocent as a child unborn. A Military Commission took up the case and found him guilty as a cold-blooded, premeditating murderer well could be. To wipe out this verdict and protect the chivalrous representative of Southern society, President Johnson directed the Doctor's discharge, and the Doctor has gone back to exercise his negro-shooting propencities, unwhipped of justice and fearless of the law.

This is not an isolated or peculiar case. It is one which is representative in its character. If the civil laws of Virginia were just and could be enforced, Dr. Watson would have been hung. Failing this, if the hand of the military had been allowed to do the work the civil Courts failed in, the Doctor would have been shot—which, under the cercumstances, was too honorable a punishment for his dastardly crime.

But the murderer still lives—a proof that the civil law will not, and the military law cannot punish crime or protect life. An outraged nation asks its representatives in Congress straightway to devise some system by which life may again become sacred and law inviolate in the South.

THE CONDITION OF THE SOUTH.

From the Detroit Post.

In consequence of the studied neglect of President Johnson to discharge his official duty by requiring the enforcement of the Civil Rights bill in the South, it now seems absolutely necessary that there should be some further legislation by Congress to secure protection to the lives and property of loyal whites and freedmen in that part of the Union. All friends of equal rights will accordingly hail with satisfaction the adoption of a resolution by the House, on Monday last, instructing the Judiciary Committee to inquire what legislation is necessary to secure this result in all the lately rebellious States, except Tennessee.

The ex-rebels of the South, while eagerly demanding amnesty for themselves as a matter of right, after having maintained a treasonable warfare against the government for four years, seem disposed to avail themselves of every opportunity to wreak their vengeance, through the machinery of the local laws and otherwise, upon Union soldiers and loyal citizens who fall into their hands; while the case of the rebels who murdered three Union soldiers in South Carolina, some months ago, while in the discharge of their duty, and who have since been pardoned by the President, shows that there is almost complete immunity from punishment for those who may choose to take the lives of Union men. During the House proceedings of Monday, two instances of Union soldiers, who are held for punishment in South Carolina for acts committed in the discharge of duty during the war, were reported. One of these was the case of a man who acted as a spy of Gen. Sherman during the Georgia and South Carolina campaign, and who is now held in prison under an indictment for highway robbery in the latter State. The other case was reported by Mr. Maynard of Tennessee, who stated that a son of one of his colleagues, named Nelson, who had accompanied Stoneman in his raid into North Carolina in the last few weeks of the war, has been indicted there for the murder of a man killed in the performance of military duty, and his surrender by the Governor of Tennessee demanded. Those two cases were very properly referred to a special committee. Messrs. Schenck and Stevens also called attention to evidence of the selling of negroes into slavery under the orders of the courts in Maryland and Florida, and other outrages in violation of the Civil Rights bill, while other evidence was adduced in the statements of delegates to an Equal Rights Convention which recently met at Macon, Georgia, representing fifty counties in that State, alleging that not less than one hundred and fifty murders had been committed within the last ten months, and that in no instance had the attempt been made by the civil authorities to bring the perpetrators to justice.

It is evident that this investigation has not been commenced a moment too soon, and it should be made as thorough and searching as possible. Nowhere is it more imperatively demanded than in the interior of Texas, where Unionists almost entirely cut off from communication with loyal men in other States, have been subjected to outrages and persecutions of the most atrocious character; and where, notwithstanding the representation of Gov. Throckmorton, that all was proceeding in so orderly a manner, Gov. Hamilton's Secretary of State recently alleged that official information had been received of not less than one thousand murders since the war.

LETTER FROM HON. B. GRATZ BROWN

Senator Brown, who we regret, is to retire from the Senate on the fourth of March next, has addressed a letter to his constituents, giving them an account of what he has done as their Senator, to promote the material interests of Missouri. He prefaces the letter with the following pertinent paragraphs, which will be of interest to our readers:

TO THE PEOPLE OF MISSOURI.

In a public letter addressed to you at the close of the last session of Congress, giving account of my political course, as representing you in the Senate of the United States, I had occasion to urge a consideration in the pending elections of the necessity of so amending your organic laws as to make universal or impartial suffrage the groundwork of a final settlement of the peace of the State and the issues of rebellion. The belief was strong with me then that such an initiative by Missouri would go far to consolidate the national thought in its favor. The immense stride which the loyal sentiment of the whole country has made in that direction since those elections have resulted so auspiciously, fully confirms me in that belief now. It needs only the emphasis of your State action, affirming that impartial suffrage, without regard to color or race, shall precede or attend upon any general amnesty, to insure the ascendency of the same policy in the councils of the nation on the entire questions of reconstruction. And when that is done, amnesty may with safety and with rightfulness be granted to the late rebellion—not as a matter of compensation or compact, but upon the logical ground that as rebellion grew out of slavery and class despotism and the social shackles thrown around labor, so when all these are obliterated and free communities are readjusted upon the basis of equal civil and political rights to all men, then the cause which generated and might keep alive rebellion will have ceased to exist, and those safeguards in the shape of civil disabilities imposed upon sympathy with rebellion, will cease to be justifiable because they will have ceased to be necessary to the safety of the State.

I hold it essential that the control of this government, in its supreme as well as its subordinate parts, shall be held ever in loyal keeping; but I believe that control will only be certainly thus retained if we shall conform our actions to our creed and require that victories achieved in the name of freedom shall result in enlargements of popular liberty, and not degenerate into a seeming maintenance of party ascendency at the expense of civil rights it is no longer indispensable to abridge, and of the social state of a class of citizens against whom it is no longer intended to proceed criminally.

In urging this vital matter upon your renewed attention, I have felt that my political duty would not be fully performed did I fail at this hour in doing so.

THE LESSON OF THE MARYLAND ELECTION.

Dr. J. E. Snodgrass of this city, formerly of Maryland, and intimately acquainted with the affairs of that State writes to the *Right of Way* as follows:

"Those who may have imagined that the ultimatum of the contest in Maryland at the late election was the mere success of Gov. Swann, as a candidate for the senatorship, or a merely sentimental triumph of the secession party in that State, know little of its meaning and aim. There was an ulterior purpose of the pro-slavery party, the bare mention of which will be sufficient to open the eyes of such as have not already suspected it. It was nothing less substantial than the procurement of compensation for the slaves emancipated by the adoption of the new Constitution in 1864. This instrument, while it makes the submission of the question of a Convention or no Convention to the popular vote, obligatory every twenty years, nevertheless, gives the power to the Legislature to call a Convention at the pleasure of two-thirds of the members of each branch thereof; thus opening the way for the future authorization of compensation for slaves.

Here, then, we have the secret of the not otherwise explainable intensity and bitterness of the zeal displayed, not only in Baltimore, whose large delegation to the Legislature was a tempting prize, but throughout the rural districts generally, and the more pro-slavery of them particularly, for the return of what, in that State, are, significantly enough, called "conservatives." This issue was kept out of sight as much as possible during the late contest; but it was not the less a vital one in the struggle at the ballot-box. Hence the desperation of that struggle, and the unwonted resorts of Gov. Swann in the appointment, in the first instance, of partisan registrars, and, in the second, the supersedure of the old commissioners of police, by the appointment of two of his own most faithful and determined adherents in their stead.

Few persons outside of Maryland, probably, have anything like an adequate conception of the magnitude of the pecuniary stake of the ex-slaveholding but still pro-slavery party. We will therefore make it clear with the actual figures. Estimating the value of each emancipated slave at three hundred dollars,—which is understood to be less than the seekers of compensation really claim,—the whole assessment would amount to $46,807,521,37. Of this sum, which is based upon the real and personal property of the whole population as returned by the State comptroller, the less slaveholding counties, whose non-slaveholding inhabitants would receive back nothing, would be compelled to furnish more than twenty millions to pay the slaveholders for their slaves. The more slaveholding counties would receive $16,367,721,37 more than they paid; while the less slaveholding counties would be just that sum the worse off by the proposed arrangement, in addition to all they have already been called upon to pay, in blood and treasure, as a consequence of the rebellion which the slaveholders themselves precipitated upon them. And it is worthy of note, that the less slaveholding counties referred to, to wit, Alleghany, Baltimore, Carroll, Cecil, Frederick, Hartford, and Washington, constitute only one-third of the State's whole number. The county of Baltimore alone, including her always well-nigh free city,—whose assessment would be upwards of twelve millions,—would have to furnish more than fourteen millions as her trifling share of this little contribution to her slaveholding neighbors.

Now, we can see what her delegates and Senators, whose aggregate number is nearly equal to the majority on joint-ballot claimed by the conservatives, were actually worth to her Union-loving property-holders in dollars alone,—to say nothing of their desire to sustain their principles through them. And we can also begin to see, in this light, why they have fought the good fight so persistently in the persons of their tried police officials, with the incidental aid of that plucky lover of justice and the right, Judge Bond. But their situation becomes still more fully revealed by the light of the not very palatable reflection, that in the event of the rather impecunious and craving F. F. M's., of Prince George's and Charles Counties and elsewhere, getting what they have been aiming at in their very facile takings of the iron-clad oath, and their drivings of their opponents from the polls, they will, man by man of them, find the tax-gath-

ever at their doors, coolly asking them for about one-tenth of all they are worth,—like an American tithe-man, as he literally will be! And just precisely this is what the ex-slaveholders have been swearing and voting for in Maryland, and will, there is reason to fear, obtain, if they can continue to carry the election by the overwhelming majority they have now secured in the Legislature of that supposedly free State, which actually amounts to two-thirds of each of its branches.

There is, however, after all, some slight consolation in the reflection, that a most wholesome discipline has been administered to those of our more radical friends in Maryland, who, while they have seen and admitted the justice of impartial suffrage in the abstract, have thus far shown themselves to be lacking in the courage to openly espouse it. Perhaps, after the proposed tithes shall have been missed a while from their emptied packets, their plack will be strengthened by their privation, and make itself felt, hereafter, in whatever Conventions, national or local, they may be moved to attend for consultation with the more plucky men of their own section, or wherever else occasion may call for it. Suffering is not seldom needed to make men morally stronger; and a little more of it on the border, where the soul of slavery is found marching on, while its body lies mouldering in the grave of infamy, may be found providentially indispensable to make her progressive men have more of that fellow-feeling, which, if the poet truly sings of it, would render them more sympathetic towards their true national allies.

New York, December 1866.

PROTEST AGAINST THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LOYAL STATE LEGISLATURES.

GENTLEMEN: Just before the close of the last session of Congress, an amendment to the Constitution of the United States was adopted by that body and submitted to you for ratification. It was ostensibly devised to remove or diminish the evils resulting from the late civil war, and to settle the questions which have divided the nation. At the time of the adoption of this amendment, however, few, if any, looked upon it as being more than a preliminary step in the reconstruction business. Indeed at the time of its adjournment, Congress had under consideration a bill for the organization of loyal governments in the subdued States, and more than two-thirds of the members of both houses had promised to vote either for that or some other bill having a similar object in view. It was in consideration of these premises that the Southern loyalists plead so powerfully with the people of the North to sustain Congress, and it is well known that their efforts added largely to the Republican vote. But in spite of these promises made to and assistance received from the Union men of the South, it is now deliberately proposed by prominent Republicans, to treacherously abandon their allies, if the so-called Southern Legislatures will go through the forms of ratifying the amendment.

I know that people generally suppose that, as the ex-rebels talk so foolishly, such promises can be made with impunity, but these men have caved before and may do it again. Indeed, I have no doubt but that the amendment would be ratified by them almost immediately if they should become satisfied that Congress would thereupon legalize their State governments. It would, in all probability, have been ratified before this had it not have been that the leaders have expected to be able to patch up some kind of a compromise swindle, to be called "universal amnesty and impartial suffrage." They are now, however, beginning to fear that this cannot be done, and the majority of them will, in all probability, soon join Gov. Patton in the summerset business. Do not be deceived. The ex-rebels are ready to do anything that may be necessary to enable them to retain control of their States, and would have swallowed the pending amendment as readily as they did the one abolishing slavery, had they not conceived themselves to be "masters of the situation."

It is a great mistake to suppose that the pending amendment, if adopted, would do the Union men of the South any good. It would allow ex-rebels to control the polls, and they would be certain to continue electing just as disloyal men to office. The Union men would be subjected to increased persecutions, and receive even less protection from the officers of the law. The accession of twenty rebel votes in the Senate would render that body powerless to purge itself, let alone helping us. It would be *impossible*—with rebels controlling the polls—to exclude the disqualified class from State offices, and if Congress did not almost immediately remove the disability it would only make a bad matter worse, by keeping up a bitter strife after all chance of accomplishing any good result had vanished.

It is a mystery to me how any one can fail to see that a party cannot be defeated so long as it controls the polls, and that its virulence will not be diminished so long as it can imagine itself unjustly treated. The fact is, that the pending amendment, from a political point of view—as far as it was intended to weaken the disloyal party or strengthen the loyal party, in the South—is one of the absurdest measures ever proposed—for its effect would be exactly the reverse.

The Civil Rights section is good as far as it goes, but it should be amended so as to include "political" as well as "civil" rights. It has always been the case, the world over, that those classes which have the least voice or influence in the government have—no matter how impartial the laws were—found it impossible to obtain the same measure of protection enjoyed by their more favored neighbors. The Civil Rights bill is to-day almost a dead letter at the South, and will continue to be as long as one class is allowed, while the other is not, to reward or punish, at the polls, those whose duty it is to execute the law. The chief glory of the democratic-republican form of government consists in the fact that in it each man has exactly the same legal voice in the government with every other man, and is thereby rendered as secure in all his natural rights as it is possible for government to make him. We have long claimed to have such a government, and it does seem as though our people ought, by this time, to be willing to live up to their principles. On our natal day, we strut like peacocks, and call upon the whole world to listen to the divine truths contained in our Declaration of Independence, and claim great credit to ourselves for having been the first nation to proclaim that "governments derive all their powers from the consent of the governed," instead of blushing for shame at the remembrance of the fact that, in spite of our fine professions, we have so long governed, and still insist upon governing 4,000,000 of men without their consent. We vaunt our knowledge of the right, "but still the wrong pursue." Men of America! Let us resolve to be political hypocrites no longer! Let us enact our political principles into laws or cease parading them before the world. Let us, now that we have the job in hand, not stop with the work only half done, but, in addition to declaring that all men have the same rights, enact that they shall also have the same facilities for securing those rights.

It requires but a few moment's reflection to see that the section which diminishes representation in proportion to the number of disfranchised citizens, would inflict an injury upon the country, and a blot upon the Constitution.

Our best men are rapidly coming to the conclusion that, in those States where education is free, no man should be permitted to vote unless he has learned to read the English language; but the section under consideration would array the whole class of political demagogues against that desirable reform.

The chief objection to that section is, however, that it would unquestionably give to the States, by legal implication, the constitutional right of disfranchising citizens on account of color. They do not now have that right. They may prescribe an educational test—for that would apply equally to all, and put the franchise within the reach of all—but a purely arbitrary qualification, such as race, color of the skin or eye, is class legislation, and, therefore, anti-republican, and Congress has the right at any time, to pass a law to compel a discontinuance of the practice. Our fathers, when they met to form a more perfect Union, although surrounded by difficulties and dangers, refused to allow the word slave to appear in the Constitution, because they were not willing to mar that instrument by formally recognizing an institution which could exist only by ignoring the natural rights of man. Are we less patriotic than they that we should thus deliberately and causelessly go out of our way to deprive Congress of all power to protect the constitutional rights of the citizen, and empower any faction which may obtain control of a State to disfranchise one-tenth or nine-tenths of its citizens? To comprehend fully the iniquity of this proposition, it must be borne in mind that the section—*as the matter now stands*—cannot, by any possibility, do any conceivable good. Men of the North! as an American citizen, I protest against your debauching the Constitution of our common country, by conferring upon the States, as a constitutional privilege, the right to violate the sublimest principle of our institutions—the right of every man to an equal voice in the government.

Another serious objection to this amendment—especially if it is to be a finality—is, that it leaves entirely unsettled the questions which led to the war, viz: "The right of secession," and "whether a citizen's paramount allegiance is due to his State or to the General government." I know that it is customary, at the North, to say that the war has settled these questions, but that is a mistaken notion. The Constitution remains the same, upon those points, as before the war. The defeated rebels and the Democratic party still adhere to their old pernicious doctrines, and wait but the restoration of the rebel States, under rebel rule, to bring them again prominently before the country. The war will have settled neither of these questions unless the Constitution shall be so amended as to stop further cavilling.

The immediate object had in view by Congress, in framing this amendment, was, doubtless, good, but I have written to little purpose if I have not made it clear that its adoption now would do harm instead of good. Would it not, then, be best for the loyal State Legislatures to reject this amendment, and call for the passage of one embodying the good that is in it, without the bad?

To the members of the loyal State Legislatures I appeal to take this subject in hand. You have the power to prevent the marring of the Constitution, and to let Congress know that it must care more for principle and less for expediency—will you do it?

Hoping that you will, I remain,
Respectfully,
ALBERT GRIFFIN.

Mobile, Dec. 19, 1866.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 5, 1867.

THE AMENDMENTS.

WE believe the nearest danger is that the South will adopt the Constitutional Amendments proposed by Congress and claim admission to that body on the ground that those Amendments constituted an offer from the Republican majority, the acceptance of which by the South entitles it to full admission. We pointed out as long ago as last Summer, on the adjournment of Congress, that this was the shape the thing would take. Members of Congress maintained that the adoption of those Constitutional Amendments was only *part* of the conditions to be imposed on the South. But many men saw that when once the Fall canvass began the champions of the Republican party would be driven to the wall by the question "Has Congress a policy?" It would be fatal to answer "No, Congress has not yet made up its mind to anything." Its defenders on the platform and stump would be obliged to take the ground that Congress had come to some conclusion on so pressing a question. It would be madness, as a party, to stand before the people, opposing the President's plan and offering nothing in its place. We saw that many speakers and Committees would fall easily before such a temptation and assert that Congress had a plan and the adoption of those Amendments by the South was the basis of that plan. On that adoption the rebels would be readmitted to the Union. Events took just this course. It is true that when Congress adjourned no such understanding existed. It is true that leading men all over the country strenuously denied that Congress had taken any such position. But leading journals and the State and Federal Republican Committees either pursued a very equivocal course or openly made such an offer to the South.

The President was, at that time, really opposed to those Amendments. He may be so still. But, whatever his real opinions, he evidently yields to the necessity of the hour and allows his friends at the South to make any terms which will replace them in Congress. Once there, they will break through all pledges, and intrigue to shape the National policy according to their need. No matter what the President may *say*, there can be no doubt this is his present attitude and plan.

All Southern oaths are ludicrous. Provisions for disfranchisement are waste paper. Who, in those rebel communities—for we will not even call them States—will ever enforce them? Is the Civil Rights bill enforced anywhere at the South? Let the white South once obtain what she plots for—a place inside the government—and she will break through all Constitutional barriers exactly as she did before 1860. Will any believer in the efficiency of these Swindling Amendments be kind enough to point out any provision of the Constitution which the South disliked and yet obeyed in times before the war? She laughed at all Constitutional provisions and defied the North to enforce them. Remember the pitiable effort of Massachusetts to bring the laws of South Carolina relating to colored seamen to the decision of the Supreme Court. Remember the infamous expulsion of the New England representative, Mr. Hoar, from Charleston, followed by atrocious State legislation to prevent any other attempt to test South Carolina laws by the United States Constitution. This is but one of a score of instances. Who will guarantee that that same white aristocratic South will now keep her oath any better? Her disfranchised classes will evade the law, vote and be voted for, and no effort either North or South, will be effectual to prevent it. The only safety is in building up a really Republican South before we make States out of those Territories.

Congressmen must, as Judge Marshall once said of his Court, "be presumed to know something." If its members know anything of the history of this Union, they will be infamously guilty of deliberate treason when they admit the white race of the South back to power on the basis of those Amendments. The very roof under which they meet will cry out against such folly. Every stone in the Capitol could tell a tale to convict them either of ignorance and carelessness so gross, as, in their position, to amount to crime, or of conscious treason. No man is fit to sit in that House who will trust anything to a mere Southern oath. Rest a guaranty on the oath of a Southern rebel! To write it in water or sand would be a permanent record in comparison. The South will never keep any bargain unless compelled to. To give the negroes land, ballot and education and to hold the arm of the Federal government over the whole Southern Territory until these seeds have begun to bear fruit beyond any possibility of blighting, is the only safe and practical reconstruction. We call on those whose "practical statesmanship" in the matter of electing Andrew Johnson has nearly ruined us, to be on their guard. They cannot a second time safely plead that they were deceived. When men cheat us once, it is their fault. When they cheat us a second time, it is our fault. To put Johnson where Hamlin ought to have been might possibly be mere folly. To build up and accept white governments in the Southern Territories is crime.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE assembled at Albany and organized on Tuesday, the 1st inst. The Governor's message recommends the immediate ratification of the Constitutional Amendment. A copy of the Amendment he has already transmitted to the Legislature. We record our emphatic protest against its ratification, and urge the gentlemen of the Legislature to desist from the folly of tying their own hands in the matter of Reconstruction, of giving substantial triumph to the State Rights assumption of the rebel leaders; and to abstain from the crime of consenting to the disfranchisement, and practically to the re-enslavement, of millions of loyal blacks at the South.

We shall give next week what the Governor says on the subject of Reconstruction, and of the State Constitutional Convention. The other portions of the message are devoted to local and other matters, not of special interest to our readers.

THE OLD AND THE NEW YEAR.

THE record of another year is closed. For the nation it has been a year of great opportunity. We wish we could add that it has been well improved. It will be distinguished in the history of this country as a year remarkable for treachery rather than fidelity. In February last the President openly and brutally announced himself as swinging around the circle he has since completed. So far as the nation could be humiliated and imperilled during the year, by one ignorant, beastly, malignant man, it has been. He has betrayed, injured, and insulted all loyal men and women. His record of dishonor and crime is such as to render him fully liable to and eminently deserving of impeachment. The old year should not have been allowed to close, Congress in session, without the fit culmination of impeachment.

Not less astonishing has been the course of Congress. Asserting, a year ago, complete jurisdiction over the question of reconstruction, acknowledging the faithful services of the black men of the nation, and theoretically their right to the ballot, fully apprised of Johnson's treasonable defection; yet Congress has worse than wasted the twelve months of momentous responsibility. The first step in right construction has yet to be taken; the illegal rebel organizations, instituted by the President, are in full blast; loyal whites in the South are everywhere proscribed; the faithful blacks, for whose enfranchisement the honor of the nation had been pledged, are left at the mercy of their angered enemies, and the buying and selling of men and women upon the auction-block has been revived and is being prosecuted under the shield of the amended Constitution! The traitorous President is in undisturbed possession of forfeited official power, in full command of the army and navy of the nation, and of millions of its accumulated treasure. The situation has been changed from bad to worse by the Congressional amendment of last Summer, still pending, a measure fraught with great injustice and imminent peril. A majority of the Supreme Court has also allied itself as of old to the cause of rebeldom and slavery, and made apparent another source of anxiety. In the midst of such dangers, members of Congress desert their post of duty, vote themselves a prolonged holiday, and a considerable number of Senators and Representatives, some of whom ought to blush to be found in such company, project a rollicking, "whitewashing" excursion through the South, to learn something of the "public feeling" and enjoy the hospitalities of the "reconstructed" Beauregards, Mayor Monroes and other kindred spirits! With greater propriety might our Albany Legislature seek to be enlightened and gratified by voting itself a holiday season of festivities with the select inhabitants of Blackwell's Island, Sing Sing and Auburn. Of this roving, doughfaced party of Senators and Representatives, the *Tribune* correspondent telegraphs on the thirtieth of December that they had just left New Orleans, and that while in that city, "*they declined to receive a deleg tion of loyal men who had been appointed a committee to wait on them, as their time had all been allotted to Gen. Beauregard, Mayor Monroe and the City Council, and they consequently had no time to spare!!!*" Such in brief is the record, and such are the untoward circumstances which attended the close of the old year. The gain of equal suffrage for the blacks in the District of Columbia we do not forget or undervalue. The well-meaning, earnest spirit of the masses, too, we still have faith in.

The new year opens with a prospect by no means hopeless, but requiring unwonted vigilance on the part of every lover of justice, freedom and equality. Our public men have lapsed back again from the energetic excitement of the war to their old habits of intrigue and compromise. They hesitate, blunder and fall, while abandoned bad men wax bold and strong.

Abolitionists, faithful the past year, and in former periods, in admonishing the guilty, pleading for justice, and in pointing out the better way, have still most important duties to discharge. It is left for them now, as in days gone by, to give voice to the nation's conscience, to "cry aloud and spare not," while oppression lingers. They will not disappoint. The nation shall not be without witnesses for the truth.

A word of THE STANDARD. It enters upon the new year with a moderately increased subscription list, as compared with a year ago, and, and in the absence of systematic efforts for extending its circulation, is steadily gaining ground. It should, however, for the sake of the colored race, whose claim for justice and equality it uncompromisingly represents, and for the nation's welfare, be much more widely circulated. It will continue to present the important editorial contributions which have added so much to its interest and value, from the pen of WENDELL PHILLIPS, to have the services of other able contributors, and to furnish from Washington, Boston, Philadelphia, and from abroad, an intelligent and trustworthy correspondence, superior in value to that of any weekly journal in the country. A little earnest effort on the part of our friends could easily and speedily double our subscription list, add thousands to the number of our readers, and by so much increase THE STANDARD's influence and usefulness.

THE State Constitutional Convention for the revision of our State Constitution, the Governor advises, should be early provided for by the Legislature, to be composed of one delegate from each county, and thirty-two delegates, sixteen from each of the two parties, for the State at large. He refers to the need of change in the judiciary, hints at some other things which will require attention; but timidly refrains from any allusion to the infamous proscription of colored citizens by the property qualification, which should be abolished, or to the equal enfranchisement of the taxed and unrepresented women of the State, which should be guaranteed. The composition of this convention is a matter of vital interest to the friends of freedom in this State. The Governor contemplates a convention, we infer, to be chosen only by the usual male electors. We hope the Legislature will, as it is fully competent, provide for an election of the members of this convention by THE PEOPLE, without reference to complexion or sex. The Convention is to act for the whole, and all should be represented.

NEW JERSEY furnishes a precedent for extending the ballot to woman. The fact of woman's having at one time voted at the elections in that State was alluded to and questioned, during the recent debate in the U. S. Senate upon the proposition to extend the ballot to the women of the District. We print on our third page an interesting statement of historical facts since published by Lucy Stone and H. B. Blackwell, to which we invite attention.

ON our first page will be found the resolutions and memorial of the Southern Republican Association (Hon. T. J. Durant, President), to which we alluded last week. They have no uncertain ground, and are the voice of the loyal South to which the roving Congressional excursionists ought promptly to have given heed.

WE have received from Charles Saville Roundell, M. A., Secretary to the late Royal Commission in Jamaica, a pamphlet copy of an able paper read by him before the Social Science Congress, at Manchester, Eng., on "England and her Subject Races, with special reference to Jamaica." We purpose to present some extracts to our readers hereafter.

PERSONAL.

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper lectured to a large audience in the Representatives Hall of the State Capitol at Nashville, Tenn., on the evening of the 24th ult.

George S. Boutwell gave an able lecture on the subject of Reconstruction before the old Bay State Association in Tremont Temple, Boston, last week. The lecture is reported at length in the Boston *Journal*, from which we shall give an extract next week.

Lucretia Mott, on Sunday morning last, preached an eloquent discourse in the Unitarian Church at Germantown, Pa. She was invited to occupy the pulpit by the pastor of the church, the Rev. Mr. Newell, and among those in attendance were Hon. George W. Julian and wife.

John A. Dorgan, the young poet of Philadelphia, who had become widely and favorably known, through his "Studies," died on the morning of the 18th ult., aged 31 years. Many who know him through his exquisite poems will deeply regret his early death. We have a carefully prepared review of his "Studies," intended for this number, which we hope to present next week.

Henry Vincent, the distinguished English orator, is announced to lecture this (Thursday) evening before the Lincoln Literary Society of Rondout, N. Y. Wendell Phillips is also to give a lecture before this Society early next month. This Association is one of the most flourishing and successful of its kind in the valley of the Hudson. Its President is Thomas Cornell, Esq.; its Secretary is Mr. Henry M. Crane, formerly of Brooklyn.

Anna E. Dickinson, says the *Independent*, is now at her home in Philadelphia, where she arrived on the 21st ult. The typhoid affection, from which she suffered so severely, has been subdued, but there remains a soreness of the left lung, and rheumatism still lingers in the left shoulder. Her physician says that, with prudence on her part, she will entirely recover in a few weeks—probably in time to fulfil her Eastern engagements.

Louis Kossuth, writing to friend in Brooklyn, to acknowledge the gift of an album containing photographs of some of the most distinguished statesmen, heroes and martyrs of the Union cause, says: "I have derived great pleasure from contemplating the features of those great and good men whose wisdom, perseverance and heroism carried the American Republic victoriously through all the trials of the tremendous war, on the issue of which depended not only the maintenance of the Union, but even the future progress of the Christian world toward true liberty; inasmuch as I am thoroughly persuaded that the onward march of the democratic principle will now be irresistible, after its vitality has been tested with so much success, on a scale unprecedented in history."

AN Emancipation Celebration was held in Boston on the 1st inst., which was numerously attended, and addressed by Charles Lenox Remond, George Thompson, Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, Rev. L. A. Grimes, and others.

WE invite attention to the able and timely protest against the ratification of the "swindling" Amendment by the Northern State Legislatures, given on our first page, from the pen of ALBERT GRIFFEN, Esq., editor of the Mobile *Nationalist*.

THE Colored Soldiers and Sailors are to hold an important convention in Philadelphia on the 8th inst. A large attendance is anticipated from all parts of the country.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, December 31st, 1866.

I HAVE mentioned to you, I think, the deep interest which attended the first meeting, this Winter, of our Boston Social Science Association. The subject there treated of (Improvements in School Teaching and Discipline) was discussed also at the second meeting last week, and the extent and importance of the topic were seen to be such that the same was assigned for consideration at the third session, which is to come next week. Mr. George B. Emerson read an excellent paper on the injurious influences of the "medal system," and of the whole method of stimulating children to excel each other. The effort of each, he thought, should be directed to the work of "excelling himself." The discussion of the evening turned chiefly upon this point, and upon the advantage or disadvantage of using corporal punishment in schools. Among the speakers were several who had had large and long experience as teachers, and others, such as Hon. Josiah Quincy and Dr. Jarvis of Dorchester, had been intimately connected with the oversight of the work of education. The medal system found no defender. Mr. Quincy had tried to do away with it twenty years ago, when he was Mayor of the city. He had opposed it in Faneuil Hall at that time, against the arguments of Rev. Edward Beecher. Horace Mann had always opposed this system of exciting competition by the offer of rewards, and had taught that the great object in school-days, as well as through life, should be superiority not over another, but over one's self.

The use of corporal punishment in schools was opposed by most of the speakers, and some wished it formally and thoroughly abolished; but all agreed that the best teachers would have no occasion to resort to it, and that a continuance of the power of appeal to it in the last resort was necessary only on account of the imperfections of existing teachers. Dr. J. P. Ordway, who urged the entire abolition of corporal punishment in our schools, brought forward some statistics on the subject which seemed to astonish the audience as much as they did your correspondent. So many of our teachers go on successfully without any appeal to force, that it has become a common idea that we have entirely outgrown that system in this city. But the reports of the Boston schools for the past nine months show that in that time there have been 13,744 cases of corporal punishment in them; some of these cases showed undue severity, some were inflicted under the influence of passion, and investigation had given Dr. Ordway good reason to believe that all the cases of punishment were not reported.

Both the subjects here considered were brought forward for discussion and action at an adjourned meeting of the School Committee held the following evening, his Honor Mayor Lincoln in the chair. A proposal for the abolition of the "Franklin medals," and for the issue, instead, of "Franklin diplomas" to all who attained a fair average grade of improvement, was referred to next year's Board.

Next came up for consideration an order for the abolition of corporal punishment in the Boston schools. The Committee to whom it had been referred reported that they could not recommend its passage, but they recommended, instead, a mere restriction on the whipping of girls, making the consent of the master necessary before an assistant can inflict the punishment.

This brought on an animated discussion. Dr. Ordway offered and advocated an amendment. Rev. Dr. Lothrop spoke, in opposition, not only to the abolition of corporal punishment, but to the requisition now made of recording the number of cases in which it is used. He also objected to the publication by a member of the Board (Dr. Ordway) of the number of cases of corporal punishment reported from the schools this year. Dr. Ordway well said, in reply, that the great number of cases so reported, amounting to nearly 18,000 a year, showed that the power in question was not judiciously used. When a vote was reached, the report of the committee as originally submitted was adopted.

The system of competition for medals and other prizes, however, has taken a deep hold upon the educational institutions here, and will probably hold its ground some time yet, in spite of the testimony of the best judges against it. At an exhibition of the Chauncey Hall (private) Boys' School last week, there were distributed three gold medals, three silver medals, and a number of other prizes.

A letter of M. D. Conway in the *Commonwealth* shows that an amusing (and yet a very unfortunate) misapprehension exists in England respecting the *method* of corporal punishment used in the schools of Massachusetts, and that this misapprehension has been sedulously used in certain quarters to excite a prejudice against us as vulgar and indelicate. Referring to the case in Cambridge so much debated lately, where resistance to the ordinary punishment, by a very provoking and contumacious school-girl, brought upon her an infliction severer than that first intended, the English rumor has it that a young lady of 17 had her bare person exposed to the view of the whole school, and in this state received the punishment in question. *Our* papers did not consider it necessary to state, because everybody here knew, that only the "bare" palm of the hand was the part "exposed," and intended for punishment; but since English school punishments are applied to a different part of the body, and include an attitude vulgar and degrading as well as "indelicate" on the part of the pupil flogged, the misapprehension on the part of our English censors is not strange. They may very appropriately try on the coat they cut out for us, and consider whether their own school customs need amendment. When our own papers complain of our teachers as inflicting punishments objectionable and injurious, our friends over the water ought to understand that it is the use, and a generally moderate use, of the *ferule* that is complained of; and that the use of "the birch," in English fashion, is entirely unknown amongst us.

A lecture was given here last week by Hon. George S. Boutwell, on "Reconstruction, and its relations to the Business of the Country." By a judicious statement of facts showing how slavery has prevented the increase of population in the South, how it has obstructed education among both free and slaves, and how it insures the degradation of the whole laboring class, he showed the need that a radical change should be made in the ways of thinking and living in that region; he then considered which, among the means of reconstruction proposed in various quarters, would tend most strongly to gain, and to retain, that quiet and orderly condition of society which is indispensable to the prosperity of industrial employments and commercial relations; and he came to the conclusion that the only safe way out of our present difficulties is to adopt the constitutional amendment, and add to this universal suffrage, in the ten States lately in rebellion. Mr. Boutwell closed by declaring his belief that the great majority of the loyal members of both Houses of Congress are ready for such action as this, and that the time has now come for establishing a government upon the fundamental principles of natural justice, and recognizing the rights of men because they are men.

The obstinate persistence of the President in his peculiar line of policy is bringing more and more people to acceptance of the idea of bringing him to trial. The progress of opinion upon this point was shown at a recent debate in the literary class of the Boston Young Men's Christian Association. The question proposed was—"Resolved, That the best interests of the people demand the impeachment of Andrew Johnson." After a full discussion, the class gave their ballots, 34 in the affirmative and 11 in the negative.

NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, December 31, 1866.

TO-MORROW ushers in New Year's Day, 1867. Almost two years have passed since I helped to breast the terrible storm of iron and leaden hail that was rained upon the Army of the Potomac as it surged upon and over the formidable defences with which Lee had encompassed *his* "last ditch" at Richmond and Petersburg. Almost two years since the giant blows of Grant and Sherman, wielding the mighty loyal arm of the nation, shattered the great Slave Confederacy into hopeless ruin. Almost two years since the glad peals of bells and the loud-mouthed cannon in every city and village of the North roused the inhabitants from their slumbers to swell the intoxicating acclaim of the Great Victory. Almost two years since the murder of the author of the Emancipation Proclamation. Almost two years since Andrew Johnson, hardly yet recovered from the drunken debauch of the fourth of March, stood over, as it were, the still warm body of the good President, and solemnly pledged his faith to the nation that the greatest of all crimes, treason, should be sternly punished, and the cause which produced it be thoroughly extirpated. Almost two years since every cloud had nearly disappeared from our national horizon, and the capital, energy, industry and ingenuity of the nation, so long debarred from entering the South by the barriers of slavery, began to pour their vivifying, happifying, and peacefully-reforming streams into the vast regions which oppression had blighted and cruel civil war unsparingly ravaged. Only two years,—yet what startling changes have they not wrought in the national policy and destinies, so far as its Executive Department is concerned. The mighty living tide which, within the quarter century, has poured its tens of millions of freemen upon the broad prairies and into the great valleys of the West, transforming mere Territories into populous Empires where intelligence, happiness and comfort are the rule and their opposites insignificant exceptions—this mighty human current has been turned back from the South, which it meant to strengthen, to restore and to bless—and all at the command of a single man, who, unfortunately, possesses a power more potent than that which King Canute essayed to wield. *He* sought to command the advancing tide of the ocean, and failed: but Andrew Johnson, on the 22d of February, 1865, spoke the words that arrested the great wave of emigration which had begun to roll in upon the South; and when it was but recently the flood-tide of true loyalty and permanent, beneficent reconstruction, it is now the reaction of reassured defection and treason.

Treason sits in the White House and hurls defiant threats and stinging insults upon the unexampled majorities which have undertaken to complement with the ballot the work so auspiciously begun with the bullet, and it has, within a week, robbed the loyal whites and freedmen of the last vestige of even the poor protection which the military arm has till now afforded them, and they are wholly remanded to the "protection" of the courts and governments, composed exclusively of their and the nation's bitterest enemies—protection such as the wolf affords to the lamb—protection such as they found at Memphis and New Orleans.

An alliance, offensive and defensive, has been, at length, favorably concluded between the Executive and the Supreme Court, of which due notice has been given in the recent decision regarding military commissions, by the party of the one part, and by the Executive order suspending all military commissions in the South, by the party of the other part. And "Col." Weatherby, the South Carolina "commissioner" who has recently been here holding pow-wows with the "leading radicals," and the President gives us semi-official warning of the next step proposed in the great conspiracy against the nation by this new alliance. The President urges the Southern States to "steadfastly reject the Amendment"—why? Because, "*from a recent decision of the Supreme Court, he feels confident that he will be sustained by that law-abiding body.*"

There is not the least shadow of doubt but that the President's confidence is well founded, and that, should Congress muster up pluck enough to sweep away the organized treasonable bodies which Mr. Johnson calls State governments, it would be met by a decision of the Supreme Court, (by a majority of one) declaring such legislation unconstitutional. Thus, the two Davisses, the one upon the Supreme Court bench, and "the illustrious State prisoner at Fortress Monroe," having a community of sympathy and object, as well as name, have become possessed of the power, through their mutual friend Andrew Johnson, to thwart the noble purposes of the nation which has sacrificed a half million of loyal lives and four thousand millions of treasure that treason might be overcome and punished, and its great sins be purged away by such terrible sacrifice.

And what think you Congress will do, which is now imminently confronted with this long-foreseen peril threatening its very existence, and through it the existence of the nation itself? Do you suppose it will meet the danger more than half-way, and give the new alliance deadly thrust before it has impregnably entrenched itself behind the frowning walls of antique precedents and solemn judicial decisions, which are generally regarded with such awe-stricken veneration by the Anglo-Saxon mind? Do you imagine that even the selfish instinct of self-preservation, resting in most men, will oblige the Thirty-Ninth Congress to use its rightful constitutional power to strike from its path the man who, having reaped the fruits of others' crimes in the murder of a President, seeks to outdo the murderers by assassinating the party that gave him place and power, at the same time that he contemplates a deadlier blow at the national life? I tell you, nay. It will not do it. It will stand and chatter and discuss and denounce (I believe there are no more holidays during the rest of its eight week's term) and resolve, and investigate; and in the meantime we shall drift into the dreadful vortex which every wise man sees before us, and from whence there is absolutely no escape short of the sacrifice of as many more lives as have already darkened every household with habiliments of mourning.

There is one road, and one only, to national power and permanent reconstruction, viz.: Impeachment and deposition of the President. All others are "blind" roads leading nowhere, except to revolution and anarchy. All other propositions are unworthy expedients and idle makeshifts. This one man, reinforced by the Supreme Court, fortified by the hundred millions of gold in his treasury, and the Commander-in-chief of the army and a splendid navy, from his high position lowers threateningly over the interests of liberty and peace. He is gorged to the full, of venom against the most fearless and able servants of the people. The mortification, blunders and defeats of the late campaign rankle in his narrow brain and fester in his inordinate wounded vanity. Every rational interest, moral and material, pleads with Congress to act before it is too late. Every loyal man and woman in the South implores protection in the only effectual way—yea, the very dead, from their bloody graves, send up a wailing protest against longer toleration of the great criminal who again endangers what they died to save. But all to no avail, as I believe. There are breakers ahead, breakers astern, breakers on every side; but there is no pilot who has the skill and the authority to guide the ship of State to the haven of safety through the one narrow channel. The nation wants a leader—wants it as badly as it did in '61, to lead the nation's armies to victory. Must we grope and stagger along in this new contest as we did then, amid the alternations of hope and despair, till the "coming man" shall appear and afford the true men and women a rallying point for the final struggle with the venemous reptile which, it appears, we only scotched—not killed? Have we learned nothing by this fearful ordeal through which we have passed? Time will answer, and that right speedily, if the indications are to be believed.

OBSERVER.

EQUAL-RIGHTS MEETINGS IN CENTRAL NEW YORK.

PETERBORO, N. Y., Dec. 25, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

PARKER PILLSBURY, Mrs. E. Cady Stanton and Miss Bessie Bisbee have been holding meetings in this vicinity for some time past, in reference to the question of "Equal Rights for all, irrespective of color or sex." The meetings have been very well attended and given much satisfaction. There is doubtless a growing interest in this great question, and the people seem ready to hear and to act upon it. The ability of the speakers is too well known to need any comment. With regard to Miss Bisbee, it is but justice to say that, though quite young, she exhibits rare powers of elocution and is destined to take a prominent place among the female orators of the land.

While here, the friends above named were the guests of Hon. Gerrit Smith.

O. W. P.

FOR THE STANDARD.

CHRISTMAS MORNING.

THE morn is come! the grand old Birth-day morn,
Breathing fair frost-work from a heart of ice!
O glorious day! day of such mateless price,
How are thy precious tokens soiled and torn!
How are thy modest badges boldly worn
To cover sin and make a mask for vice!
How they to gross hypocrisy entice—
Of their most holy meanings rudely shorn!
Still a few votaries hath the Lord of Truth,
Who keep God's altar burning in the soul:
Who hold the holy-day, as in its youth
His followers held it—and as these unroll
The age-wrapped relic, 'tis a scroll unfurled
To the new wonder of a gaping world!

Milney, Dec. 25. A. P. C.

SLAVERY REVIVED.

THE Boston *Commonwealth* of last week contained the following timely admonition:

THE PRESENT PERIL—SLAVERY RE-ESTABLISHED.

Those who have lowered the standard of anti-slavery warfare, dismantled their fortresses, and mustered out their adherents, will, unless the signs of the times wofully mislead us, have occasion to call together again their scattered forces, resume the outposts, and elevate anew the old flag. *Slavery is virtually re-established to-day within the United States!* Despite war, emancipation, civil-rights acts, the opprobrium of the nation, this unhallowed, this infernal institution has yet a vitality that defies all the powers marshalled for its destruction. The seeds of the poisonous tree take wondrous roots in that soil from which we flattered ourselves it had been wholly extirpated. The power of a bad man, like Andrew Johnson, whose breath can vivify all this iniquity, what tongue or pen can describe? He is accursed!

On Saturday last, in Maryland, three black men, convicted of some petty offence, agreeably to the laws of that State were sold *as slaves*, at public auction, by order of Judge Magruder. One of the victims bid himself off; of the fate of the other two we have no present knowledge. This act was done despite remonstrances that it was in violation of the civil rights bill and the edict of emancipation both of Maryland and the Union! In North Carolina, recently, Gen. Sickles, in command of that district, forbade the flogging of men and women as a punishment for crime, when an appeal was made to Andrew Johnson, and he revoked the order of Gen. Sickles! The conservative majority of the Supreme Court have decreed, though the opinion has not yet been promulgated, that the "test-oath," so called, applied to reconstructed rebels desirous of public position, is unconstitutional, and, further, that military commissions in districts not participant in rebellion are and were equally unconstitutional; whereat all rebeldom is shouting with delight!

With these acts and decisions comes a renewal of the derision of the rebels for the authority of Congress and the loyal people of the country. The pro-slavery spirit of the South never burned fiercer or hotter. Powerless as is Andrew Johnson to control the Northern masses, he is yet all-mighty to stimulate the South to additional contumacy and insubordination. He is a bold, bad man, as has often been asserted, and he grows bolder and worse every day of baffled desire. The times are momentous. The peril is great. Courage, celerity of action, and cordial co-operation, are needed from the representatives of the people. Congress should move promptly and decisively. If impeachment only can stay the iniquity of this faithless public seavant, let it come now, and with a vigor that shall remove the curse and save the country!

THE *American Baptist*, one of the best journals on our exchange list, has an excellent article on the slave sales in Maryland and elsewhere, and the barbarous system of apprenticeship. It says:

SLAVERY RE-ESTABLISHED.

In the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, strangely enough, a loop-hole was left for the re-establishment of the institution it was intended to destroy. "*Except* as a punishment for crime," is the fatal clause that is likely to undo all our work. Already Maryland has begun to build upon this foundation a new system of slavery, and several negroes have been sold at public auction for longer or shorter periods. When the precedent is once established, it will not be at all difficult to find a thousand pretexts for re-enslaving the colored people on the charge of crime. The President is helping the South in her plans for resuscitating the "sum of all *villainies*," by revoking the orders of his officers in the military bureau. Thus Gen. Sickles's order forbidding corporal punishment of colored persons, or the selling of persons into servitude on any pretense whatever, is suspended by the President, and South Carolina left free to restore the horrors of the lash as aforetime.

Gen. Howard, in his recent report, shows that there is no security for the colored people, except what the Freedmen's Bureau gives them. While one judge sustains the Civil Rights bill, another pronounces it unconstitutional. Constables refuse to serve writs against parties charged with outrages upon freedmen. There are six hundred cases of unjust apprenticing in Calvert county, Md., and nearly as many in Arundel. The children are apprenticed to their old masters without the consent and against the will of the parents. A colored man was attacked by a mob of white men, headed by a constable, while at church. He ran, but was overtaken, and forced to defend himself, in doing which he killed one of his assailants. He was finally taken and carried before a magistrate, who advised his captors to take him into the woods and hang him. He was, however, tried, the testimony of twelve colored people ignored, and on the evidence given by his assailants, he was sentenced to five years' impris

RATIFICATION OF THE AMENDMENT.

The Washington Correspondent of last week's Boston *Commonwealth* says:

"The situation promises to be further complicated by a movement looking towards the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment by one or more of the ten unrepresented States, and their attempt to get their delegation into Congress by means of that ratification. In this they expect to be aided by Wade, Sherman, and others. This new phase is to be tried in Alabama. Gov. Parsons, and others belonging to that State, who have been haunting the White House for many months, returned to Montgomery during the last week so as to be there at the meeting of the Legislature on the 15th inst. The vote rejecting the Amendment is to be reconsidered, and the same is to be ratified. Everything is to be sacrificed to secure representation in the national councils. The plot is laid out so far that the men who are to be elected Governor, Senators and Representatives in Congress are named. Without an exception they are rebels, but not one has ever happened to take the oath of allegiance to the federal government, or has held an office. A brother of the rebel Gen. Morgan is selected for Governor. It is said that next to William L. Yancey, he was most influential in carrying the State into rebellion. The Senators selected are men of the same stripe. With the expected decision of the Supreme Court against the Constitutionality of the test-oath, they believe they can get into Congress. Who will doubt it when Patterson of Tennessee is allowed to remain in the Senate without question?

How will Senators Wade and Sherman, and their *confreres*, act when this case shall come before them? Does not the fact that such steps are being taken by prominent pro-rebel politicians prove most conclusively how vital is the demand of the loyal Southerners for *the re-organization of the State governments by means* of Congressional action?"

MARYLAND.

We take the following from the *Tribune's* Washington correspondence:

It is a practice with Judge Magruder of Ann Arundel County, Md., which seems, from its general adoption, to have been maturely considered and permanently determined on, of selling colored men whenever opportunity offers. Under the Maryland Code, supplement to vol. 1, page 33, article 30, section 6, colored persons are sold into slavery for the punishment of crimes for which white persons are sent to the Penitentiary; but, under the Civil Rights act, it is a question easy of solution, whether Judge Magruder has the right to discriminate against color in this manner. However he may subject himself to indictment before a United States Court, it is nevertheless true that he has taken every occasion which offered in the present term of his court to declare in favor of a liberal construction of the law in favor of the master. It is due to him, however, to state that the colored prisoners sometimes petition for this class of punishment, in preference to being sent to the Penitentiary. The prisoners rarely sell for enough to pay the expense of trial, as many of them run away as soon as sold, and it is likely to be a losing business for the purchaser. The following is a copy of a bill which is now posted on half the fences and dead walls within a mile of the place of sale:

"Public Sale.—The undersigned will offer for sale, at the Court-House door in the city of Annapolis, at 11 o'clock a. m. on Saturday, the 22d of December, a negro man named Jno. Johnson, aged 40 years. The negro was convicted at the October term, 1866, of the Circuit Court of Ann Arundel County, of larceny, and sentenced by the Court to be sold in the State for the term of one year from the 12th of December, 1866.

"Also a negro man convicted as aforesaid, named Gassaway Price, aged about 30 years, to be sold for a term of two years in the State.

"Also a negro woman, convicted as aforesaid, named Dilly Harris, aged about 30 years, to be sold for a term of two years in the State. Terms of sale, cash.

"Signed, Wm. Bryan,
"Sheriff of Ann Arundel County, Dec. 13, 1866."

Richard Harris, the colored man recently advertised in the same county, has been sold. The following is an extract of the code referred to:

"When any negro, whether free or slave, is convicted of any offense, the punishment for which, if he were a white man, would be confinement in the Penitentiary, such negro shall be sentenced to be sold, either in or out of the State, for such term as the Court may deem right, or to be confined in the Penitentiary for such term as a white man would be confined for the same offence, or to receive any number of lashes, not exceeding forty, in the discretion of the Court."

Another case, occurring under the oppressive apprentice laws in Maryland, has just been made public in Calvert County. Early in 1865, a colored man named John Lox was summoned before the Orphan's Court for the purpose of having his children bound out. He refused to give his consent to have his children taken from him, and produced abundant evidence of his ability to maintain and educate them. Judge Bond, before whom the hearing was had, refused to apprentice them. The former master of Lox's wife, a Dr. Duke, subsequently appeared, made the necessary affidavit, and secured the children. Upon this, Lox procured legal advice, and his children, under some process, were returned to him by the County Sheriff. The father has now been indicted by the Grand Jury of Calvert County, upon the oath of Dr. Duke, of harboring and enticing his own children from their master, even though they had been regularly delivered to him under a writ of habeas corpus.

A communication has also been received from the Superintendent at Annapolis, Md., stating that several cases similar to the above have occurred in that vicinity. A number of cases were before Judge Bond, in Baltimore, a few days ago, who returned the children to their parents; but the order of the Court was obeyed in one case and attachments have been issued in the others. In one case Judge Magruder decided that the writ of his Court took precedence of the proceedings in the Criminal Court. The Superintendent says:

"The present state of the law is very perplexing. Until it shall be decided whether replevin will hold in these cases, no children are safe unless they are removed from the country. Several cases now on hand have been delayed by counsel for the master, but are now fixed for trial on the 27th inst. Petitions from the colored people for the release of their children are daily being sent to the Assistant Commissioner, as they believe the General Assembly, which meets on the first of January, will legislate so as to make these indentures legal."

TENNESSEE.

A recent number of the *Nashville* (Tenn.) *Press and Times* says:

"From a reliable gentleman just from West Tennessee, we learn that the rebels in Obion and Henry counties, who have heard that the present Legislature intends to enfranchise the freedmen, are infuriated at the idea that their former chattels are to be admitted to the ballot box, while they are excluded. In consequence, they are wreaking their vengeance on the poor, unoffending blacks, threatening to kill all who do not leave that section of the common country. Large numbers of the colored population, intimidated by threats, or already experiencing persecution or personal violence, are departing. Our informant stopped over night at Union City on Monday, and reports that he heard as many as thirty shots fired during his stay, some aimed at the negroes and others discharged in the air to alarm them. As may be imagined, a reign of terror exists among the poor, defenceless creatures at that point. We also learn that a negress, living in that vicinity, was recently seized by a party of rebe. ruffians, and her person violated by six of them in succession. She has since departed the place in terror for her life. The desperadoes have also left, dreading arrest and punishment. While these outrages are committed almost entirely by the desperadoes of the community, it is noticeable that they are encouraged to their hellish work by the winks, nods and chuckles of those who ought to be using their power to bring such rascals to justice.

The Feeling in North Carolina. Ex-Gov. Holden of North Carolina says, in the Raleigh Standard of the 20th, that, since his return home from Washington he has conversed with many Union men and has had correspondence with many more, and they are all enthusiastically in favor of the bill lately introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Stevens, providing for a reconstruction of the North Carolina State Government. He says the only objection he has heard made to the bill is that it is not sufficiently stringent upon rebels. He represents the feeling of the North Carolina Union men to be that in no other way can treason be made odious and Union principles become honorable.

Whipping of Blacks in North Carolina. Gentlemen direct from military headquarters at Charleston and Raleigh throw much additional and startling light upon the negro-whipping question. It appears that in all country towns the whipping of negroes is being carried on extensively. The real motive at the bottom of it is to guard against their voting in the future, there being a law in North Carolina depriving those publicly whipped of the right to vote. The practice was carried on upon such a scale at Raleigh, that crowds gathered every day at the Court House to see the negroes whipped. Besides, the sale of freedmen for slight offences is going forward rapidly in all parts of the State, and some of the planters in the eastern portion are boasting that the old order of things is practically restored for them, as they now own their gang and have them in good subjection. Mr. Johnson's setting aside of Gen. Sickles's order preventing whipping and sale, is thus regarded as utterly barbarous, as virtually returning the blacks to slavery.—*Boston Advertiser.*

Likeness of Judge Bond.—We were on Thursday called upon by a very sprightly and intelligent looking young man, whose complexion indicated that he was of pure, unmixed African descent, who presented to our inspection a most admirably executed and life-size portrait of Judge Hugh Lenox Bond, executed in oil by himself, after two sittings. We have never examined a better likeness of any one, and but few better executed paintings in this line of art. The artist's name is Wm. H. Simpson, who studied his profession in Boston, and has been practicing it in New York for four years past, and has now opened a studio in the Douglass Institute in this city. He intends presenting this picture to the Judge.—*Baltimore American.*

WOMEN AND THE BALLOT IN NEW JERSEY.

During the recent important discussion in the Senate upon the proposition to extend the ballot to the women of the District of Columbia, New Jersey was alluded to as a precedent. Lucy Stone and H. B. Blackwell have since published, in the Newark *Daily Advertiser*, a very interesting statement of historical facts with reference to woman's voting in that State, which we give below:

In 1709, a Provincial law confined the privilege of voting to "male freeholders having one hundred acres of land in their own right, or £50 current money of the province in real and personal estate," and during the whole of the Colonial period these qualifications continued unchanged.

But on the 2d of July, 1776, (two days before the Declaration of Independence), the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, at Burlington, adopted a Constitution, which remained in force until 1844, of which Sec. 4 is as follows: "Qualifications of Electors for members of Legislatures." *All inhabitants of this Colony,* of full age, who are worth £50 Proclamation money, clear estate, in the same, and have resided within the county, in which they claim a vote, for twelve months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for representatives in Council and Assembly, and also for all other public officers that shall be elected by the people of the county at large.

Sec. 7. Provides that the Council and Assembly jointly shall elect *some fit person within the Colony,* to be Governor. This Constitution remained in force until 1844.

Thus, by a deliberate change of the terms "male freeholder," to "all inhabitants," suffrage and ability to hold the highest office in the State, were conferred both on women and negroes.

In 1790, a Committee of the Legislature reported a bill regulating elections, in which the words "*he or she*" are applied to voters, thus giving legislative endorsement to the alleged meaning of the Constitution.

In 1797 the legislature passed an act to regulate elections, containing the following provisions:

Sec. 9. "Every voter shall openly and in full view deliver *his or her ballot,* which shall be a single written ticket containing the names of the person or persons, for whom *he or she votes,*" etc.

Sec. 11. All free inhabitants of full age who are worth £50 Proclamation money, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote, for twelve months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for all public officers which shall be elected by virtue of this act, and no person shall be entitled to vote in any other township, or precinct, than that in which he, or she, doth actually reside at the time of the election.

Mr. Wm. A. Whitehead of Newark, in a paper upon this subject, read by him in 1858, before the N. J. Historical Society, states that in this same year 1797, women voted at an election in Elizabethtown for members of the Legislature. "The candidates between whom the greatest rivalry existed were John Condit and Wm. Crane, the heads of what were known, a year or two later, as the 'Federal Republican' and 'Federal Aristocratic' parties, the former, the candidate of Newark and the Northern portions of the county, the latter, that of Elizabethtown and the adjoining country, for Council. Under the impression that the candidates would poll nearly the same number of votes, the Elizabethtown leaders thought that, by a bold 'coup d'etat,' they might secure the success of Mr. Crane. At a late hour of the day and, as I have been informed, just before the close of the poll, a number of females were brought up and, under the provisions of the existing laws, allowed to vote. But the manœuvre was unsuccessful, the majority for Mr. Condit in the county being 93 notwithstanding."

The Newark *Centinel* about the same time states that "no less than 75 women were polled at the late election in a neighboring borough." In the Presidential election of 1800, between Adams and Jefferson "females voted very generally throughout the State and such continued to be the case until the passage of the act (1807) excluding them from the polls. At first the law had been so construed as to admit single women only, but, as the practice extended, the construction of the privilege became broader and was made to include females 18 years old married, or single, and *even women of color.* At a contested election in Hunterdon County, in 1802, the votes of two or three such actually electing a member of the Legislature."

That women voted at a very early period, we are informed by the venerable Mr. Cyrus Jones, of East Orange, who was born in 1770, and is now 97 years old. He says that "old maids, widows and unmarried women very frequently voted, but married women very seldom." That "the right was recognized and very little said or thought about it any way."

In the Spring of 1807, a special election was held in Essex County to decide upon the location of a Court House and Jail—Newark and its vicinity struggling to retain the County buildings, Elizabethtown and its neighborhood striving to remove them to "Day's Hill."

The question excited intense interest, as the value of every man's property was thought to be involved. Not only was every legal voter, man or woman, white or black, brought out, but, on both sides gross frauds were practiced. The property qualification was generally disregarded; aliens and boys and girls, *not of* full age, participated, and many "*voted early and* voted often." "In Acquackanonk Township, thought to contain about 300 legal voters, over 1800 votes were polled, all but seven in the interest of Newark.

It does not appear that either *women or negroes* were more especially implicated in these frauds than the white men. But the affair caused great scandal and they seem to have been made the scapegoats.

When the Legislature assembled, they set aside the election as fraudulent, yet Newark retained the buildings. Then they passed an act (Nov. 15, 1807), restricting the suffrage to white male, adult citizens, 21 years of age, residents in the County for the twelve months preceding and worth £50 Proclamation money. But they went on, and provided that all such, whose names appeared on the last duplicate of State or County taxes should be considered worth £50; thus virtually abolishing the property qualification.

In 1820 the same provisions were repeated and maintained until 1844, when the present State Constitution was substituted.

Thus it appears that from 1776 to 1807, a period of thirty-one years, the right of women and negroes to vote was *admitted and exercised*—then from 1807 to 1844, by an arbitrary act of the Legislature, which does not seem to have been ever contested, the Constitutional right was *suspended* and both women and negroes excluded from the polls for thirty-seven years more. The extension of suffrage, in the State Constitution of 1776, to "all inhabitants" possessing the prescribed qualifications, was doubtless due to the Quaker influence then strong in West Jersey, and then, as now, in favor of the equal rights of women.

Since 1844, under the present Constitution, suffrage is conferred upon "every white male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of this State one year and of the County in which he claims a vote, five months next before the election," excepting paupers, idiots, insane persons and criminals.

This Constitution is subject to amendment by a majority of both houses of two successive Legislatures, when such amendment is afterwards ratified by the people, at a special election.

Lucy Stone,
H. B. Blackwell.

THE THIRTY-THIRD
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary beg leave to notify their friends,—the friends of the negro and of universal liberty,—that the thirty-third Anniversary will be held in Music Hall, Boston, on Thursday, January 24, 1866. The aim of this effort is to give the American Anti-Slavery Society the means to continue its operations, and especially to sustain the publication of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Notwithstanding the Constitutional Amendment, abolishing slavery throughout the Union, has been ratified, still the rights of the negro race are in fearful peril. Whether that anti-slavery provision shall be practically a dead letter, or really work its intended effect, is to be decided this Winter. Whether slavery shall continue to exist in everything but the name, is to be decided this Winter. Overborne by a powerful, educated, and wealthy race,—one inflamed by old prejudice and recent defeat, and armed with exclusive political privileges,—the negro, even if technically free, is still a slave, while destitute of civil and political rights. Even now, the rebel States propose a labor code, where differences between master and servant are to be settled, not, as in all free countries, by courts and judges, but by *the lash,* in the hands of *irresponsible masters.* This stamps the system as a substantial slavery. The plan of reconstruction, urged by the Administration, leaves the black still a slave. The Constitutional Amendments proposed by Congress are a deliberate desertion of the Negro and surrender him defenceless into the hands of his old masters. These Amendments break the National pledge to our black allies, and if accepted by the States would jeopard the safety of the Union and make Emancipation for many years to come a form. It is still, unfortunately, true that, with a few illustrious exceptions, the leaders of the Republican party and its most influential journals avow their willingness to admit the rebels back without securing land, ballot, and education to the negro. No matter what rights are seemingly secured to him, if these, the defence and guaranty of all, are denied. With land and ballot in the negro's hands, and means of education in his reach, no matter what or how liberal terms are conceded to the rebels. Without these elements of self-defence, all pretence of protection or security for the black is an absurd sham.

The Managers feel it to be still their duty to watch for the real emancipation of this victim race. While so many lips are sealed by party temptations, and so many journals silent or neutral, from one cause or another, it becomes the Abolitionists,—it is a solemn duty imposed upon them by all the pledges of their past lives, to rally public opinion, and secure the constant proclamation as widely as possible, of the whole truth, without fear, compromise, or favor. They therefore earnestly appeal to their friends, to all the old and tried members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as to those whose eyes the war has opened, for the means to perform, as efficiently as possible, this momentous duty.

Those not able to be personally present to aid on this occasion, and to listen to the appeals of the zealous and tried laborers in this cause, may send their contributions to R. P. Hallowell, Esq., No. 98 Federal street, Boston, Mass.

Lucretia Mott, Pennsylvania.
Mary Grew, Philadelphia.
Lidian Emerson, Concord, Mass.
Mary M. Brooks, " "
Sarah Shaw Russell, Boston, Mass.
Lydia D. Parker, " "
Charlotte L. Forten, " "
Eliza Apthorp, Cambridge, "
Mary E. Stearns, Medford, "
Elizabeth Gay, New York.
Mattie Griffith, "
Sallie Holley, "
Ann Greene Phillips, Boston, Mass.
Anna Shaw Greene, " "
Emeline T. Smith, " "
Adaline R. Hepworth, " "
Caroline C. Thayer, " "
Mary E. Sargent, " "
Abby Kelley Foster, Worcester, Mass.
Martha Le Barron Goddard, Worcester, Mass.
Anna D. Hallowell, Boston, "
Abby H. Stephenson, " "
Caroline M. Severance, Boston, "
Sarah Cowing, Weymouth, "
Jennie G. Greene, Milton, "
Hannah B. Spooner, Plymouth, "
Caroline R. Putnam, Salem, "
Sarah Bradford, Roxbury, "
Rebecca Bradford, " "
Sarah P. Remond, England.
Sarah J. Nowell, Cambridgeport, Mass.
Margaret F. Snow, Fitchburg, "
Ruth Buffum, Lynn, "
Evelina E. Slack, Boston, "
Elizabeth B. Chase, Rhode Island,
Anna Talbot Fairbanks, "
Armenia S. White, New Hampshire.

PENNSYLVANIA FESTIVAL OF THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM.

The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society propose to hold a Festival of the Friends of Freedom, on Thursday, the 17th day of January, 1867, in National Hall, Market street, Philadelphia. It is designed to be a reunion of the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, who have labored together during the years of our Anti-Slavery struggle, and also to furnish an opportunity for social intercourse with many other friends of freedom whom recent events have enlisted in the cause of universal liberty.

Our Anti-Slavery Fairs (of pleasant memory) used to furnish an annual opportunity for such social intercourse and communion relative to the great questions of the hour, which were highly enjoyed by us all, and were made, in many ways, most profitable to our cause. *The Society under whose auspices they* were held, believe that the true and brave souls who used to gather in those well-remembered saloons—sometimes exposed to the fury of mobs; sometimes, in later years, protected from that fury by the presence of police officers; and at last needing no other protection than an improved public sentiment—will once more rally at our call when we invite them to reassemble and exchange fraternal greetings, and recount the battles and the victories of the past, and commune one with another concerning the hopes of the future.

Beside the social attractions—music, stereoscopic exhibitions and refreshments will be provided for the occasion, and the presence of distinguished guests is expected.

The pecuniary profits will be faithfully used in efforts to create a public sentiment which will demand that the freedom of the legally-emancipated slave shall be completed and secured by his possession of the ballot.

The Festival will commence at a late hour of the afternoon (to be announced hereafter), and will continue during the evening. Contributions of refreshments are earnestly requested from our friends in the city and country. Coffee, tea, oysters, chicken-salad, ice-cream, fruit and cake, bread and butter, will be thankfully received. Donations of chickens and of cream from our friends in the country will be very acceptable.

We urge upon all our Anti-Slavery friends to aid the Committee of Arrangements by enlisting the co-operation of their friends and neighbors in the speedy sale of tickets and in the collection of donations to the Festival.

The price of admission will be Fifty Cents. No reduction for children.

Letters of inquiry or suggestion may be addressed to Miss Abby Kimber, No. 1022 Arch street, Philadelphia, from whom printed circulars and tickets may be obtained.

On behalf of the Committee of Arrangements,

Mary Grew,	Abby Kimber,
Ellen M. Child,	Charlotte Pierce,
Maria M. Davis,	Anna M. Hopper,
Sallie L. Child,	Sallie C. Hallowell,
Guilelma M. Jones,	Sarah Peirce,
Huldah Justice,	Mary W. Lightfoot,
Anna Justice Steel,	Rebecca Hart,
Harriet D. Purvis,	Caroline Remington,
Harriet Purvis,	Frances D. Gage,
Marianna P. Mott,	Emily W. Taylor,
Margaret J. Burleigh,	Rebecca Hillborn.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

The reconstruction of our National Union is a broader, deeper work than the restoration of the rebel States. It is the lifting of the entire nation into the practical realization of our Republican idea.

All persons who feel that, for the permanent settlement and security of this country, the Constitution and laws thereof must be founded on Equal Rights and absolute justice, irrespective of color or sex, are invited to meet in Convention, in Philadelphia, on Thursday, January 17th, 1867, at 10 o'clock a.m., in the Franklin Institute, Seventh street, above Chestnut. Able speakers from abroad are expected to be present.

Lucretia Mott,	Ellen M. Child,
Robert Purvis,	Mary Grew.
Sarah Pugh,	Alfred H. Love,

Committee of Arrangement.

Communications and contributions in aid of the work may be sent to either one of the Committee, No. 212 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

December 13, 1866.

The Standard in Boston.—John J. Dyer & Co., No. 35 School street, as our agents in Boston, will hereafter receive and forward subscriptions for The Standard, and supply single copies to such as desire.

PEACE CONVENTION.

A Convention of the Pennsylvania Peace Society will be held in the Franklin Institute, Seventh street, above Chestnut, Philadelphia, First Month (Jan.) 18th, 1867, at 3½ and 7½ o'clock p. m.

All persons, irrespective of religious or political belief, condition, sex, or color, are invited to these meetings, in earnest vindication of those great rights and truths, and that uncompromising justice, virtue, and morality which, through love to God and love to man, comprehend and subserve the cause of pure and perfect Peace; and, as an essential means to an end, endeavor—by every moral principle and power—to correct and dethrone those false opinions and practices of anger, hatred, revenge, selfishness, and the like, which of necessity engender contention and culminate in War.

Important propositions will be presented, and able speakers from various parts of the country have been invited to aid in their consideration.

Those who wish to be considered members, will please send their names and address to any of the following officers of the Society:

George W. Taylor, President, Philadelphia.
Alfred B. Justice, Secretary, "
Henry T. Child, M.D., Treasurer, "

Alfred H. Love, Philadelphia,
Lucretia Mott, "
James Mott, "
Henry M. Laing, "
Joseph M. Truman, Jr., "
Rebecca T. Magill, New Hope, Pa,
Rev. C. W. Thompson, York, Pa,
William J. Mullen, Philadelphia,
Frances Parker, "
T. Ellwood Chapman, "

Executive Committee.

A meeting of the Pennsylvania Festival Committee will be held on Saturday, January 5th, at 3½ o'clock, at 702 Green street. Mary Grew.

A stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the usual place, on Thursday, the 10th of January, at 3 1-2 o'clock.

The Annual Meeting of the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons will be held at Liberty Hall, Lombard above Seventh st, Philadelphia, on Sixth day evening, first month January) 11th, 1867. All interested in this Institution are invited to attend.

M. Baldwin, Secretary.

At the Annual Meeting of "the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage and for Improving the Condition of the African Race" (Instituted 1775—Incorporated 1789), held Twelfth month, 27th, 1866, the following officers were chosen for the ensuing year:

President—Dillwyn Parrish.

Vice-Presidents—Benjamin Coates, T. Ellwood Chapman.

Secretaries—Joseph M. Truman, Jr., Lukens Webster.

Treasurer—Caleb Clothier.

Librarian—Joseph M. Truman, Jr.

Acting Committee—Dillwyn Parrish, Passmore Williamson, Caleb Clothier, Edward Parrish, H. Ryland Warriner, Alfred H. Love, Benjamin P. Hunt.

Board of Education—Benjamin Coates, T. E. Chapman, D. Parrish, H. R. Warriner, William Hescock, Joseph M. Truman, Jr., Marcellus Balderston, Lukens Webster, O. Howard Wilson, Mordecai Buzby, Isaac H. Clothier, Benjamin P. Hunt, Samuel H. Gartley.

Counsellors—David Paul Brown, Edward Hopper, George H. Earle, H. R. Warriner, Wm. M. Levick, Jos. R. Rhoads, all of Philadelphia; Thaddeus Stevens, Lancaster; Jos. J. Lewis, West Chester.

Letters for Susan B. Anthony should be addressed hereafter, Rochester, N. Y.

For the Standard.

TRANSLATION FROM THE GERMAN OF HEINRICH HEINE.

By M. M. H.

The snow, without, in drifts may rise,
And sharp hail, tossed from stormy skies,
Rattle and beat against my pane;
But ne'er will this happy heart complain,
For, treasured within my breast, I bear
A picture of Love and Spring-time air.

LITERARY.

A Yankee in Canada; with Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers.* By Henry D. Thoreau. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.†

Regarding Thoreau, says a friend at my side: "The time will come when they will dig up this man's words, as in the olden time they dug up holy men's bones for reverence." True—and some of the best of those words are printed in the volume above named.

"The artist shall be forgotten in the contemplation of his work," we are told; but, in the contemplation of Thoreau's work, one cannot forget Thoreau. His soul is ever present with his words; they are the true likeness of his inmost self, a legacy of personal worth to us—his orphaned survivors—all, and to our heirs forever. So intimately are this author's sayings related to the author, that one cannot describe either without characterizing the other. He was that which himself defines as the rarest one of Earth's phenomena—a Man! And his writing is *a man's writing.*

I have hardly the courage to quote; for I doubt whether I should have the power to stop. Moreover, of these "Reform Papers," each is a gem so jealous of its integrity, so strong in its oneness of mold, as to defy gleaning. The reader shall cull by himself the argument of this first revelation in social economy since Rousseau—these seeds of a political system before which the "Contrat Social," that rules the advance of the nineteenth century, must yield as, to the latter, the "Divine Right of Kings" has yielded. The tyranny of minorities vanishes from the Earth, under the light of ideas systemized in Rousseau's immortal essay. The tyranny of majorities, which succeeds to the throne of the age, will in turn disappear, under the light of ideas indicated by Thoreau, and destined to be carried to their full sequence by later minds.

It is our author's paper on "Civil Disobedience" to which I here refer; but the sublime moral which breathes from that essay, and makes it an epitome of all ethic truth uttered in writ sacred or profane, animates with not less force his discourse on "Slavery in Massachusetts." The space allotted me forbids a retrospect of that scene at Framingham, twelve years ago, of one free man wielding the scourge of unmixed truth over a million of New England slaves—"free white male citizens" of the Puritan State, but slaves still—willing or unknowing slaves of a statutory cabal of banditti known as The United States of America!

However, to know the *man* thoroughly—to feel the full worth of him, one must hear him chide not only, but praise. And when this critic, who finds a dozen million virile forms in the land, with not a dozen virile spirits between them, comes to One of surpassing manhood, to whom he can give naught but praise, unmixed, unreserved; then—even though we knew not that One to be the redeemer of his people from their shame of centuries—the tribute thus paid claims more than passing attention. *There* stand two representatives of the virtue unclouded of the Saxon race, preaching—the one's hand and the other's tongue—a forgotten evangel of courage and honesty to the savages of Christian civilization! There, they are truly pictured—he who dared do the deed and he who dared name it by its name—in Henry Thoreau's "Plea for Captain Brown." For nowhere see we deeper into the great, lucid soul of the Concord Hermit than where he opens its generous portals to the Martyr of Harper's Ferry. Yon document is a lasting attestation of that holiest of kinship which united them in a past life, and which shall link their names in a common glory approaching.

But I must hurry on, and not more than mention things which I would liefer describe. "Life without Principle" is a familiar-sounding talk fraught with the essence of a million sermons. It sounds the alarm which, every hour of each day, should be sounded with archangelic voice in the ears of our people and of the world. The ground-note, perhaps, of that alarm is attuned to the thought outlined in the following sentence, which, alone, this new John Baptist shall suffer me to excerpt: "The chief want, in every State that I have been into, was, a high and earnest purpose in its inhabitants."

Of Thoreau's essay on Carlyle, it may seem dangerous, at present, to tell the truth; for Carlyle's humanity happens to be under a cloud—and the essay praises his works, and praises them justly. Be it remembered, however, that Thoreau wrote before the Slaveholders' Rebellion and before the Jamaica Massacre—and he will not be censured for the good he says of the Cromwell of English Literature. As, while he dilates on the moral figure of John Brown, his own form shines forth in a twin halo with the saint of his legend; so, in the sketch of Carlyle's literary stature and countenance, our author puts notable lineaments of himself on the canvas, much like he finds Carlyle to have done by Jean Paul Richter. In fanciful originality, wealth, and versatility, of phrase, Thoreau is Carlyle's inferior; in boldness of syntactical construction, almost his equal; while, in that force which comes from directness, and that grace which comes from simplicity, of utterance, he leads the other. They are both alike concise, and alike guiltless of abusing the Adjective. In the book under notice, several verbal "Yankeeisms" may be discovered by those who search, but no crudities of thought, no ideal solecisms. A good-natured and unconscious egotism of narration is repeatedly met therein: if that must be called a defect, let it be classed as one of undevelopedness—the result of isolation. The disability is not in the substance of the thought, but in its form. The author's mental range and caliber are none the smaller for it.

In "Paradise (to be) Regained," Thoreau's fount of humor is loosed to the fullness;—and a delectable subject he has, for wit! The serious and methodical proposition of some transcendental air-castle builder, to realize a Utopia of idleness and luxury for mankind, brings out in sweetest-ringing and deftliest-cutting satire, as well as in direct rebuke, the indignation of one who respects labor as never laborer respected it. Millions share, to a degree, that Utopian schemer's tastes and desires, if not his hopes and beliefs, and many, who laugh over his discomfiture by Thoreau's sallies, have more reason to put covering to their own bared flesh.

The quintette selection of "Prayers"—uprising, as a sacrificial flame of transmundane fragrance, from a gap in the colonnade of stern homily—is worth a shelf of devotional literature, and touches with a soothing effluence where impatience at the farce widely usurping the place of Religion has chafed me sore.

The labors of Nathaniel Rogers and of Wendell Phillips have each an amply-deserved and heartily-given recognition in the "Papers;" while the volume worthily closes with a well-known posthumous testimony to the century's hero—John Brown the Immortal.

The papers I have mentioned have been given to publicity separately, in divers ways, but never, until the present issue, in a form adapted for general circulation. They fill about two-thirds of the book. The remaining third, which concerns humanity least, but will interest the average reader most, furnishes the leading title for the whole. It contains a recital of the author's observations and *reflections* on a ten days' raid into British America. The delicate penetrance of perception, the freedom and vigor of judgment, which supply the meat of this entertainment, and the sauce of racy comment with which it is served, are sufficiently advertised to the public through "Cape Cod," and "Concord and Merrimack Rivers," and "Walden," to require not more than allusion here. Thoreau deals less with Nature—other than human—in this, than in some of his works; but whenever he does deal with her, it is as a child of the manse, as one having an inherited right of way to the inner paths and the familiar retreats. The social reclusion and local narrowness of movement in which Henry Thoreau found his heart's home, would have repressed the liberal unfolding of a less richly gifted nature; but on the flights of *his* Psyche it laid no fetters: for no one more than he was endowed to

"Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

O. M.

The *Atlantic* begins its nineteenth volume with an unusually promising table of contents, and with an array of contributors not excelled by any magazine in the country. A feature of the new volume is Dr. Holmes's story, "The Guardian Angel," the opening chapters of which guarantee a rich treat to come. The following is the table of contents:

The Guardian Angel—I., by O. W. Holmes; Fitz Adam's Story, by James Russell Lowell; A Plea for Culture, by T. W. Higginson; Henry Ward Beecher's Church, by James Parton; The Palatine, by John G. Whittier; The Strange Friend, by Bayard Taylor; Capillary Freaks, by Charles Dawson Shanly; Katharine More—Part III., by the author of "Harman"; The Causes for which a President can be Impeached, by C. M. Ellis; The Contest between Achilles and Agamemnon, translated from the first book of the "Iliad" of Homer, by W. C. Bryant; The Man who Stole a Meeting-House, by J. T. Trowbridge; Terminus, by R. W. Emerson; An Appeal to Congress for Impartial Suffrage, by Frederick Douglass; Pan in Wall Street, by E. C. Stedman; the Kingdom of Infanoy, by Walter Mitchell; Reviews and Literary Notices.

A new edition of Dickens's works, soon to be published by Hurd and Houghton, might properly be called the International edition, for it gives the great novelist's works complete, illustrated by Cruikshank, "Phiz," and other English artists, and also by the well-known designs of F. O. C. Darley. Such a combination is interesting, as showing Dickens both through English and American media. The new edition is to be in twenty-six volumes, crown octavo, and will contain all the published illustrations made for the author's edition in England, and for the "Household edition" of Hurd and Houghton.

Lee and Shepherd, of Boston, have just brought out Rev. Petroleum V. Nasby's new book, entitled "A Few Last words," with illustrations by Thomas Nast. The following is the "Dedication:"

Dedikashun uv this Book.

To Andrew Johnson, the Pride and Hope uv Dimocrisy, who hez bin Alderman uv his native village, Gruner uv his Stait, member uv the lower house of Congress and likewise uv the Senit, Vice-President and President, and might hev bin Diktator, but who is, nevertheless, a Humble Individooal; who has swung around the entire sirkil uv official honor without feelin his Oats much; the first public man who considered my services worth payin for; and to Alex. W. Randall, Postmaster-General, his most devoted servant, whose autograph adorns my Commishen ez Postmaster, this Volume is respectfully dedikated.

Our Young Folks, for January, is a good number—every article being of the most entertaining character, and handsomely illustrated at that. A portrait of Captain Mayne Reid is given, in addition to the other cuts. Messrs. Ticknor and Fields seem determined to keep *Our Young Folks* in the front rank of juvenile magazines.

Lee and Shepard, of Boston have issued the first number of a new magazine for children, entitled *Our Boys and Girls,* Oliver Optic, Editor. It is a weekly, of twelve pages. The first number is well calculated to please and instruct, and gives promise of future success.

The New York *Evening Gazette* is the title of a new evening daily which has just made its appearance in this city. It is designed to give, in brief, the current news and opinions more elaborately presented in the larger journals. It is edited by Mr. Sweetser, formerly of the *Round Table,* is well made, spicy and interesting, and gives many entertaining items and paragraphs in a limited space. It is printed on good paper, makes a handsome appearance, and bids fair to have a successful career in its special field of journalism.

The New York *Tribune* appeared on Monday last in a new dress. It has larger faced, handsome type, and presents a greatly improved appearance. In all that goes to make up a first-class daily newspaper, the *Tribune* is now ahead of all other American journals. It is liberally supported, and would gain a still stronger hold upon public confidence but for the unfortunate periodical lapses to which Mr. Greeley is subject.

Hurd and Houghton announce for publication early in January, "Poems and Translations," by Emma Lazarus.

Received.

The History of Magnus Maharaba and the Black Dragon, by Kristofur Kadmus; New York: Brown and Duer, publishers.

Madonna Mary, a Novel by Mrs. Oliphant: Little, Son & Company, Boston.

The Friend, for January. The Friend Association, 131 William st., New York.

Memoir of Catharine R. Keese, by Samuel Keese; New York: James Egbert, publisher.

The Herald of Health, for January: Miller, Wood & Co., publishers, 13 and 15 Laight st., New York.

The American Phrenological Journal, for January: Fowler & Wells, 389 Broadway.

The American Freedman for December: 76 John st. New Yor: American Freedmen's Union Commission.

The Evangelical Repository and United Presbyterian Review, for January; Joseph T. Cooper and W. W. Barr, Editors: W. S. Young, Philadelphia, publisher.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, for December; New York: The Leonard Scott Publishing Co.

The Quarterly of the Young Men's Christian Association. New York: published by the Executive Committee, 161 Fifth Avenue.

The Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter, Thomas Sproull, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Social Science Review; J. K. H. Willcox and Simon Stern, Editors: New York, 84 Nassau st.

The Christian Examiner, Rev. Dr. Bellows, Editor: James Miller, 522 Broadway.

Every Saturday, for January 5th: Ticknor and Fields, Boston.

Littell's Living Age, for January 5th; Little, Son & Co., Boston.

Great and Grave Questions for American Politicians, by W. W. Broom. New York: Westcott & Co., publishers.

An Englishman's Thoughts on The Crimes of the South, and the Recompense of the North, by W. W. Broom. New York: The Loyal Publication Society.

Francis and Loutrel, No. 45 Maiden Lane, New York, have issued a very convenient, neat and substantial Daily Memorandum Book, for 1867, containing a bill book, cash account, almanac, time-table, etc., etc.

FINE ARTS.

Jerome Thompson has just finished another of his reminiscences of the Green Mountains, which he calls the "Passing Shower." The painting is of large size, and the scene chosen is near Mount Mansfield in Vermont, looking westward to Lake Champlain and the Adirondack Mountains. This is the third of a series. The second was recently sold for five thousand dollars.

William Morgan, who is so well known for his faithfully-painted *genre* pictures, has just finished a charming work representing a returned soldier telling the story of his campaigns to the inmates of a quite wayside cottage. The figure of a young girl listening to his tale is most admirably painted.

John Snedecor, 768 Broadway, has opened for exhibition three ideal heads in marble by Mr. Gould, of Boston.

Miscellaneous Department.

FIRST LOVE.

Turning over papers—
Dead-leaf drift of years—
In the midst a letter
Stained with tears!

Face of any dead one
Scarce had moved me so;
There my First Love lying,
Buried long ago.

Darling love of boyhood,
What glad hours we knew—
Tears so sweet in shedding,
Vows that were so true!

Dear face round and dimpled,
Voice of chirping bird,
Hardly then, for heart throb,
Any word I heard.

But to know she loved me,
Know her kind and fair,
Was in joy to revel,
Was to walk on air.

Happy, happy love-time,
Over-budded Spring,
Never came the Summer
With its blossoming.

—Shilling Magazine.

A CHAPTER ON SNEEZING.

A WRITER in *Nature and Art*, a new English periodical, gives the following account of the customs connected in ancient and modern times with sneezing:

"Sneezing may be popularly defined as a spasm due to an irritation applied either directly or indirectly to that portion of the Schneiderian membrane which is the expanded distribution of the olfactory nerve, the seat of the special sense of smell. The complex phenomena of 'reflex action' are also involved in the act. The irritation may be caused directly, as by snuff, and so forth; or indirectly, as by the sudden impression of light upon the retina, or by the well-known effect of a sudden chill.

"A person will, generally speaking, sneeze more in the Summer than in the Winter, on account of the glare of the sun, and a more pulverized condition of the road. Not a few suffer from the very unpleasant affection called 'hay-fever,' which is characterized by a troublesome itching of the eyes and great irritation of the membrane lining the nasal passages, producing constant sneezing and a general constitutional disturbance. The numerous minute particles of the pollen of grasses and other plants from the meadows are distributed by the air and conveyed to people's nostrils, which immediately reply to their presence by a fit of sneezing. The dust and smell arising from a hay-field are eminently productive of these disagreeable sensations, and hence the name of the complaint. There are some people, however—but not such as are affected with 'hay-fever'—who are rather pleased than otherwise with the preliminary titillation of the mucous membrane of the nose with its natural result, at which the whole frame shakes convulsively. And then a person may be taken with a fit of several consecutive ebullitions at most inopportune moments. It must be rather awkward for actors sometimes when, in the midst of some solemn declamation, the unwelcome sneeze gives warning of its approach. Imagine Hamlet, at the end of the well-known words,

"'O that this too, too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew,'

to be seized with a paroxysm of sneezing. Would not the audience fear lest those violent sternutatory agitations should prove the prelude to that much-wished for consummation?

WHAT IS SNEEZING?

"But what is sneezing, and how shall we define it? Etymologically the word has reference to the *nose*, the Anglo Saxon *noese*, the German *nase*, the Latin *nasus*, etc., hence the word used to be written without the initial 's,' as 'neesing' or 'neezing,' and Shakspeare—

"'(And then the whole quire hold their hips and loffe,
And waxen in their mirth, and *neeze*, and swear
A merrier hour was never wasted there.')
(*Midsummer Night's Dream*, act II., sc. 1.)

Mr. Hensleigh Wedgewood thinks that the name of the nose is taken from an imitation of noises made through that organ. Similarly, Webster defines the noun sneeze to be 'a sudden and violent ejection of air, chiefly through the nose, with an audible sound.' But this is manifestly incorrect, for the ejection of air is always normally through the mouth. Let any one, when threatened with a sneezing fit, keep his mouth closed, so as to compel the expulsion of air through the nostrils, he will find the operation extremely unpleasant, and will not care to repeat the experiment. However this may be, it is certain that the irritation in the nose is the primal cause of the sneeze, and therefore the words nose and (s) neeze stand in close relationship one to the other. Sneezing may again be defined to be a spasmodic effort to get rid of any causes of irritation which affect the lining membrane of the nose, such effort being accompanied by a violent ejection of air chiefly through the mouth. Sneezing may be symptomatic of disease, as in the case of common catarrh, measles, but alone it can never be depended upon as a diagnosis of disease.

WHAT THE ANCIENTS SAID AND THOUGHT.

"The ancients attributed various properties to the act of sneezing, amongst which may be especially mentioned that of stopping hiccups. There is rather an amusing passage in the Symposium of Plato on this subject. It appears that Pausanias, one of the party, had done speaking, and that it was Aristophanes's turn next to address them; but unfortunately this latter individual was seized with a bad fit of the hiccups—probably brought on from eating too much dinner—and he was unable to talk; whereupon he turns to Eryximachus, a physician, who sat just below him, and addressed him: 'Eryximachus, you ought either to stop my hiccups or else to speak in my turn, until I can cure them.' To which Eryximachus replied, 'I will do both; I will speak in your turn, and when your hiccups have ceased you shall speak in mine; but while I am speaking if, by your holding your breath for a long period, your hiccups cease, all right; if not, gargle your throat with water; if they are very violent, take something of this kind with which you can tickle your nostril and sneeze; if you repeat this once or twice the hiccups will cease, be they ever so violent.' Aristophanes applied the remedy, which he says he found a perfect cure.

"Every one is acquainted with the custom of saluting a person who has sneezed, with the expression, 'God bless you!' It is very interesting to trace, as we often can do, existing customs up to very remote periods; and it is certain that the custom of blessing persons when they sneeze is of great antiquity, and that sneezing has been pretty generally considered ominous amongst nations. As early as the time of Homer, sneezing was regarded in this light; accordingly we find that after a speech of Penelope in the seventeenth book of the Odyssey, Telemachus, 'sneezed aloud,' which was considered a happy omen. Eustathius on this passage observes that sneezing to the left was unlucky, but lucky to the right. Aristotle asks many questions about sneezing; amongst others, why sneezing from midnight to mid-day are considered to be unattended with a good omen, but those which take place from mid-day to midnight are considered to be attended with a good omen? While Xenophon was uttering an important speech to his soldiers, somebody sneezed, whereupon this was considered a good omen from Jupiter the preserver, and all sacrificed to the god. Plutarch tells us that when Themistocles sacrificed in his galley before a certain battle, and one of his assistants upon the right hand sneezed, Euphrantides the soothsayer, presaged the victory of the Greeks and the over-throw of the Persians. If the god of love sneezed on the right all would go well with lovers; thus Catullus (Carmen xlv.):

"'Hac ut dixit, Amor, sinistra ut ante,
Dextram sternuit approbationem.'

"Theocritus (Id. xviii.) in the Epithalamium of Helen, thus addresses the newly-married Menalaus:

"'Thrice happy bridegroom! on thy way 'tis clear
Good demon sneezed, that only thou should'st gain
The prize so many princes would obtain.'"

BLESSING THE SNEEZER.

"As to the custom of blessing persons when they sneeze, some have supposed that it had its origin from a disease that prevailed in the time of Gregory the Great, which, it is said, proved fatal to those who sneezed; hence the expression, 'God bless you!' Nothing, however, can be more certain than that the custom dates from a time long antecedent to Gregory the Great. Pliny, in a very interesting chapter on customs, asks the question, *Cur sternutamentis salutamur?* ("why do we salute sneezings?") and tells us that Tiberius Cæsar, the most morose of men (*tristissimum ut constat, hominum*) used to observe this custom even when riding in his chariot. Now that we are quoting from Pliny, we may as well mention that he states it is the opinion of some that in order to cure the hiccups, it is a good plan to shift the ring from off the left hand to the longest finger on the right, and to plunge the hands in hot water. It is curious that shifting the ring is still considered amongst ourselves as one of the popular cures for hiccups. But to return to sneezing. C. Petronius, a voluptuary at the court of Nero, writes as follows:

"'Gyton collectione spiritus plenus, ter continuo ita sternutavit at grabatum conculeret, ad quem motum Eumolpus conversus, Salvere Gytona jubet.'"

"There is a very amusing epigram in the Greek Anthology, on a man who had a nose so long that he could not hear himself sneeze. (The Greeks were of the same opinion as some of the moderns, that the sound proceeded from the nose.

"'Proclus with his hand his nose can never wipe;
His hand too little is his nose to gripe;
He sneezing, calls not *Jove*, for why? he hears
Himself not sneeze; the sound's so far from 's ears.'

RABBINICAL.

The Rabbinical account of saluting a person when he sneezes, is most curious. I will give it as I find it in Buxtorf's "Lexicon Chaldaicum et Talmudicum," p. 1,599:

"'Since the day of the creation, every man who sneezed always died of his complaint; wherever he was, whether in a journey or in the market, if he sneezed his life immediately went from him; but when Jacob came, he asked God's pity on account of this thing, and besought him thus: "O Lord of the world, take not away my life from me before I have admonished my sons and my grandsons." And God granted his petition. Now when all the kings of the earth heard of this, they trembled and were disturbed, for such a thing (as a man sneezing and not dying) had never happened since the creation of the world. On this account a man when he sneezes is compelled to give God thanks for having brought him from death to life, as it is written, 'His sneezings make light to shine.' (Job xli. 9.) So far Chaskuni. . . . Before the time of Jacob a man sneezed and died; afterwards they said to a person sneezing, *chayim lobim*, that is, 'good life to you.'"

"Brand, quoting an extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, says:

"'The year 750 is commonly reckoned the era of the custom of saying "God bless you," to one who happens to sneeze. It is said that in the time of the pontificate of St. Gregory the Great, the air was filled with such a deleterious influence that they who sneezed immediately expired. On this the devout pontiff appointed a form of prayer and a wish to be said to persons sneezing, for averting them from the fatal effects of this malignacy. A fable continued against all the rules of probability, it being certain that this custom has from time immemorial subsisted in all parts of the known world. According to mythology, the first sign of life Prometheus's artificial man gave was by sternutation. The supposed creator is said to have stolen a portion of the solar rays, and filling with them a vial which he had made on purpose, sealed it up hermetically. He instantly flies back to his favorite automaton, and opening the vial, held it close to the statue; the rays, still retaining all their activity, insinuate themselves through the pores, and set the factitious man a-sneezing. Prometheus, transported with the success of his machine, offers up a fervent prayer, with wishes for the preservation of so singular a being. His automaton observed him, remembering his ejaculations, was very careful on the like occasions to offer their wishes in behalf of his descendants, who perpetuated it from father to son in all their colonies.'

SCRIPTURAL.

"But though sneezing was at one time considered a mortal distemper, it was also regarded as a sign of recovery from disease. Hence, in the account which relates the rising to life again of the Shunamite's son, in 2 Kings, iv., the child, it is said, sneezed seven times and then opened his eyes. In Howel's Proverbs occurs the following sentence: 'He hath sneezed thrice, turn him out of the hospital;' he is nearly well again.

LATIN.

"The following translation of some old Latin verses occurs in 'The Schoole of Slovenrie, or Cato turn'd wrong side outward, translated out of Latine into English verse, to the use of all English Christendome, except Court and Citie:'

"'When you would sneeze, shalt turn yourself into your
neighbor's face,
As for my part, wherein to sneeze, I know no fitter place;
It is an order, when you sneeze, *good men will pray for you;*
Marke him that doth so, for I thinke your friend most true.
And that your friend may know who sneezes, and may for
you pray,
Be sure you not forget to sneeze full in his face alway.
But when thou hear'st another sneeze, although he be thy
father,
Say not *God bless him*, but *Choyk up*, or some such matter,
rather.'

CONCLUSION.

"Various amusing accounts have been given by travellers of this custom of saluting sneezers in different parts of the world. Whenever the King of Monometapa (Sofala) sneezed, it was known to thousands of his subjects.

"'Those who are near his person,' says Disraeli in his 'Curiosities of Literature' (p. 45), 'when this happens, salute him in so loud a tone, that persons in the ante-chamber hear of it, and join in the acclamation; in the adjoining apartments they do the same, till the noise reaches the street, and becomes propagated throughout the city, so that at each sneeze of his majesty results of a most horrid cry from the salutations of many thousands of his vassals.'

"The Siamese are said to have a custom of saluting persons who sneeze, and wishing them a long life.

"'For they believe that one of the judges of hell keeps a register wherein the duration of men's lives is written, and that when he opens this register and looks upon any particular leaf, all those whose names happened to be entered on such leaf, never fail to sneeze immediately.'

"What animals besides man are subject to this little annoyance? Dogs and cats certainly, and probably others of the same canine or feline tribes. Is the lining membrane of the elephant's proboscis sensitive to irritating particles, so as to induce a fit of sneezing in this mighty pachyderm? Speaking of dogs, I am reminded of what Horapollo tells us, viz., that when the ancient Egyptians would denote the spleen, or smelling, or laughter, or sneezing, they depict a dog, 'because the thoroughly splenetic are neither able to smell, nor laugh, nor sneeze,' a piece of Egyptian logic which only those who have been initiated in the 'hidden wisdom' of the hieroglyphics are able to appreciate."

ENJOY THE PRESENT.

We live not in our moments or our years;
The Present we fling from us like the rind
Of some sweet Future, which we after find
Bitter to taste; or bind *that* in with fears,
And water it beforehand with our tears—
Vain tears for that which never may arrive.
Meanwhile, the joy whereby we ought to live,
Neglected or unheeded, disappears.
Wiser it were to welcome and make ours
Whate'er of good, though small, the Present brings,
Kind greetings, sunshine, song of birds, and flowers,
With a child's pure delight in little things;
And of the griefs unborn to rest secure;
Knowing that Mercy ever will endure.

Mr. McClure made recently a speech in the Assembly at Victoria, Vancouver's Island, which lasted seventeen consecutive hours. An American paper says: "To those who are unacquainted with the circumstances, this feat may not appear to be placed in the same category with the exertions of those ambitious pedestrians who, for wagers, walked a thousand miles in a thousand hours. It may easily be supposed that Mr. McClure's speech could not have been a masterpiece of oratory, nor is it likely that his inducement was greater than that which moved Edmund Burke when, at the trial of Warren Hastings, after pouring out for fourteen hours a torrent of impassioned eloquence, the majestic mind collapsed under the force of physical fatigue, and he fell fainting in the arms of Sheridan. But we know of no instance of stubborn tenacity equal to this of Mr. McClure, and the cause was one which should make him famous in the annals of the British colonies. A year ago a large quantity of land in and about Victoria was seized by the government for arrears of taxes, and was by it held on the understanding, expressed and published, that the owners could have and repossess their lots by paying the taxes due within a twelvemonth after their seizure. But it became known a few days before, on the expiration of the allotted term, that a plot was on foot, hatched by the government and backed by a venal majority in the House of Assembly, to pass a bill authorizing the Executive to repudiate its contracts with the land-owners, refusing to accept payment of arrears, and seizing upon and retaining permanently the disputed lots. Two men in the House opposed the measure. Their names were Amoside Comos and Leonard McClure. They knew that they had nothing to hope from their compeers or from the government, and they prepared themselves accordingly. The House had made up its mind, with these two exceptions, to rush through this obnoxious bill on the day before the twelvemonth expired. There was but one way to prevent this, and it was adopted resolutely. On the House being opened, Mr. McClure rose to his feet, the time being noon, and kept the floor until five o'clock next morning. For seventeen hours he continued to speak, while every effort was made by the purchased majority to put him down and tire him out. With a merciless unanimity they refused to allow him to lean against the table, to put his foot upon a chair for a moment, to relieve himself from the irksomeness of his position by resting his hand upon anything, or to speak, in short, in any other than a rigidly erect and unsupported attitude. During the whole of the time they relieved each other at intervals, going out and procuring such refreshments as they needed and always leaving a quorum in the House. When McClure sank exhausted into his seat, as the light of another morning was stealing into the windows of the Assembly House, De Comos rose, and for the remaining seven hours of the twenty-four talked against time. On rising, amid the groans and hisses of the disgusted and infuriated majority, he exclaimed, with more force than refinement, that it was useless for honorable members to evince their malace in that manner, for he had got up with the determination to talk, if necessary, 'until the angel Gabriel sounded the last trump.' His powers of endurance were not quite so severely tested, but the end was achieved, and when the clock struck twelve the worn and wearied champions of honesty looked round with pardonable exultation upon the blank faces of a bought and beaten Assembly."

TRIP LIGHTLY.

Tarr lightly over trouble,
Trip lightly over wrong,
We only make grief double
By dwelling on it long.
Why clasp woe's hand so tightly?
Why sigh o'er blossoms dead?
Why cling to forms unsightly?
Why not seek joy instead?

Trip lightly over sorrow,
Though all the day be dark,
The sun may shine to-morrow,
And gaily sing the lark;
Fair hopes have not departed,
Though roses may have fled;
Then never be down-hearted,
But look for joy instead.

Trip lightly over sadness,
Stand not to rail at doom;
We've pearls to string of gladness,
On this side of the tomb:
Whilst stars are nightly shining,
And the Heaven is overhead,
Encourage not repining,
But look for joy instead.

A SEARCH FOR THE REMAINS OF THE FOUNDER OF RHODE ISLAND.

Rev. J. H. McCarty, of Cincinnati, is writing a series of very interesting articles for the *Ladies' Repository*, on Roger Williams, the founder of the State of Rhode Island. In the last number we find the following curious and interesting statement concerning the remains of the distinguished man:

Ninety years after his death, in 1771, steps were taken to erect to him some suitable monument, but the storms of the Revolution came on and the work was forgotten. But the question has recently been agitated anew, and Williams may yet have some outward sign to mark his greatness and perpetuate his name.

During the period of one hundred and eighty years, not even a rough stone has been set up to mark the grave of the founder of Rhode Island, till the precise locality of his grave had been almost forgotten, and could only be ascertained by the most careful investigation. Suffice it to say, however, the spot was found, and the exhumation made a short time ago, though there was little to exhume. On scraping off the turf from the ground, the dim outlines of seven graves, contained within less than one square, revealed the burial place of Roger Williams. In colonial times each family had its own burial ground, which was usually near the family residence. Three of these seven graves were those of children, the remaining four were adults. The easterly grave was identified as that of Mr. Williams. On digging down into the "charnel house," it was found that everything had passed into oblivion.

The shapes of the coffins could only be traced by a dark line of carbonaceous matter the thickness of the sides of the coffins with their ends distinctly defined. The rusted remains of the nails and hinges, with a few fragments of wood and a single round knot, was all that could be gathered from the grave. In the grave of his wife there was not a trace of anything but a lock of braided hair, which had survived the lapse of more than one hundred and eighty years. Near the grave stood a venerable apple tree, when and by whom planted is not known. This tree had sent two of its roots through the earth till it had reached the precise spot occupied by the skull of Roger Williams. There making a turn, as if going round the skull, it followed the direction of the backbone to the hips. Here it divided into two branches, sending one along each leg to the heel. One of these roots formed a slight crook at the knees, which makes the whole bear a close resemblance to the human form. This singular root is preserved with great care, not only as an illustration of the great principles of vegetation, but for its great historic association. There were the graves emptied of every particle of human dust! Not a trace of anything was left! It is known to chemistry that all flesh and the gelatinous matter giving consistency to the bones are resolved into carbonic acid gas, water and air, while the solid lime dust usually remains. But even, in this case, the phosphate of lime of the bones of both graves was all gone! There stood the "guilty apple tree," as was said at the time, caught in the very act of "robbing the grave."

To explain the phenomenon is not the design of this article. Such an explanation could be given, and many other similar cases adduced. But this fact must be admitted: The organic matter of Roger Williams had been transmitted into the apple tree; it had passed into woody fibre, and was capable of propelling a steam engine; it had bloomed in the apple blossoms, and it had become pleasant to the eye; and more, it had gone into the fruit from year to year, so that the question might be asked, "Who ate Roger Williams?"

THE SNOW STORM.

So all night long the storm roared on;
The morning broke without a sun;
In tiny spherule traced with lines
Of Nature's geometric signs,
In starry flake and pellicel,
All day the hoary meteor fell;
And, when the second morning shone,
We looked upon a world unknown,
On nothing we could call our own.
Around the glistening wonder bent
The blue walls of the firmament,
No cloud above, no earth below—
A universe of sky and snow!
The old familiar sights of ours
Took marvellous shapes; strange domes and towers,
Rose up where sty or corn-crib stood,
Or garden wall, or belt of wood;
A smooth white mound the brush-pile showed,
A fenceless drift what once was road;
The bridle-post an old man sat
With loose-flung coat and high cocked hat;
The well-curb had a Chinese roof;
And even the long sweep, high aloof,
In its slant splendor, seemed to tell
Of Pisa's leaning miracle.

John G. Whittier.

Excited Life in New York.—Simeon Draper, under a stroke of paralysis, has passed away from among the living. Paralysis, softening of the brain, loss of the use of the lower limbs, apoplexy, now so common among the prominent and active men of this city, shows the peril of our style of living—constant business and social excitement, and the unhealthy modes of living among us. There is probably not another city on the continent where men grow old so fast. Men scarcely thirty years of age bear marks of sixty. A New York congregation of men is peculiar for the great number of middle-aged persons who have bald spots on their heads. A man can wear out his nerves, exhaust his strength, and produce premature decay as easily as a spendthrift can squander a fortune. A fortune is easily made in this city. But if made on the high-pressure principle a man pays his health or his life for it.

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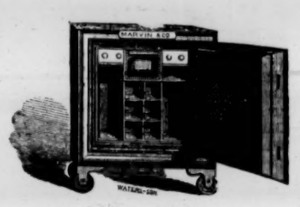

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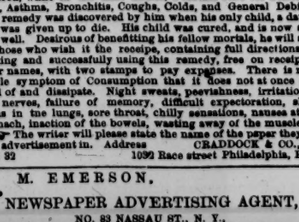

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